The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. XLVI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1926 NUMBER 589

Contents

The Week 82
Editorials
Governors as State Bosses..... 85
The Nickel Plate Decision..... 87
Mr. Justice Holmes..... 88
Those Nervous Stocks..... 89
General Articles
Will Europe Disarm?.....Sisley Huddleston 90
A Step Toward Industrial Self-Government.....
.....P. G. Agnew 92
Portrait of a Federal Judge.....Raymond Clapper 96
In Passaic .....Agnes de Lima 98
Sonnet in Vain (verse).....Rolfe Humphries 99
The Babygrand Old Party.....Felix Ray 100
Washington Notes .....T. R. B. 101
Knowing and Feeling.....Leo Stein 102
The International Theatre Exposition..Stark Young 103
The Bandwagon 104
Reflections on Leaving New York..Edmund Wilson 105
Correspondence 106

The Week

OBSERVERS have long predicted and long expected the collapse of the Briand Ministry, but the friends of France in other countries none the less could not but hope that somehow he would obtion a breathing spell. The attempt broke down, as resented an honest attempt to meet the financial responsibilities of the Republic by imposing severe sacrifices on all classes in the community. It is doubtful whether even if the Chamber of Deputies had accepted the increased taxation the Briand Ministry would have pulled France out of her difficulties, but success would have given the harassed French nation a breathing spell. The attempt broke down, as previous attempts have broken down, as a result of a struggle among the classes to shift the burden. From this point of view the Socialists cannot be blamed for voting against the Doumer plan. They could not consent to the turn-over tax without the sacrifice of their principles and the interests of their clients, but the nationalists who voted against Briand and brought about his downfall must have been prompted by much more doubtful motives. They could have accepted the legislation, as it was returned from the Senate, without inconsistency. Yet rather than accept it they preferred to turn the government out and precipitate one of the gravest crises in the political history of their country.

NOW that the combination which supported M. Briand has failed, it is more than ever improbable that any coalition which can be formed in the present Chamber of Deputies will succeed. If some other combination of the different groups is tried, it will sooner or later meet with the same fate. The obvious way out would seem to be a general election, but the President cannot dissolve the present Chamber until the Budget is voted and until a new election law is passed. Moreover while the preparations were being made and the election fought it would be most difficult to prevent the price of the franc from sliding down hill. What can patriotic Frenchmen do to save their country from the social and political dangers of a complete collapse of the franc? Nothing, so far as we can see, except to support at any cost a Ministry of the centre, and that is precisely what most of the nationalists have just refused to do. The only apparent explanation of their action is that they welcome the threat of disorder and hope thereby to increase their own political power.

SINCE the election of 1924 it has been fashionable among American progressives to say that the tide of reaction is still at its flood, and that there is not much use in seeking to fight it. This was certainly true a year ago; and it would only be human nature if the progressives went on saying it after it had ceased to be true. A few weeks ago we noted some of the straws in the wind which suggest that Mr. Coolidge's popularity is beginning to tarnish a little around the edges. A glance at the chances in the Congressional election this fall reveals the fact that his control of the Senate is certain to be weakened, and may be destroyed. Not only is it well within the bounds of possibility that a Democratic majority may be in control, but among the Republicans several of the men who are most rigidly pro-Coolidge are likely to be defeated. Thirty-three Senators will come up for reëlection this fall. Only seven of these are Democrats, and they come from such safe states as Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and the Carolinas. The twenty-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

five Republicans include at least half that many who may be unseated either by Democrats or by nominal Republicans who are much further to the left. The present Senate contains fifty-six Republicans, thirty-nine Democrats and one Farmer-Labor representative, Senator Shipstead of Minnesota. Even without taking into account the aid of progressive Republicans, a shift of nine seats would give the Democrats control.

AMONG the most interesting contests is that in Illinois, where Senator McKinley is likely to be defeated for the Republican nomination by Frank L. Smith, World Court opponent. In Wisconsin Senator Lenroot must contend in the primary against Governor Blaine, aided by the powerful La Follette forces. Senator Moses of New Hampshire will be faced in the primary by the popular former Governor Bass. Senator Weller of Maryland must meet Congressman John Philip Hill, a well known anti-prohibitionist. In Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma and Arizona Democratic contenders should be able to make an excellent race. In Idaho, Nevada, California and Oregon, hidebound conservative Republicans are up for reëlection, and in all of these states progressivism is stronger than it was six years ago. Senator Butler of Massachusetts will have the battle of his life against Walsh, and Senator Wadsworth of New York is by no means assured of victory. In Indiana there is talk of putting up former Senator Beveridge against Jim Watson for the Republican nomination. If the Senate committee should finally unseat Senator Brookhart of Iowa, he is likely to run against Cummins in the June primary, with a good chance of defeating him.

THE crisis in the League over the question of seats on the Council reveals once again how long and dangerous is the road which Europe has yet to travel toward peace. In a sense, the whole agitation has been a manufactured one—manufactured not, of course, by Germany but her opponents. Germany's position seems to us to be both technically and logically correct. She has applied for League membership in fulfillment of the Locarno agreement; when that agreement was negotiated nothing was said about an enlargement of the Council so as to counterbalance her vote, and she is therefore right in maintaining that the proposals of Poland, Spain and Brazil constitute a material alteration in the terms of the agreement. The stock explanation of the Polish demand, not necessarily the only one, is that it was instigated by France. If so, it was an attempt which, as should have been foreseen, was sure to act as a boomerang. If Polish national pride was wholly or partly responsible, the suggestion was equally ill-advised. Poland is obviously not one of the "great powers" for whom the permanent seats on the Council are reserved. Brazil and Spain more nearly approach that status, but even as to them, there is grave doubt. But national sentiment is morbidly sensitive. Nothing is easier than to arouse a storm which will culminate, as in the present case, in a threat to withdraw from the League if the demand for a permanent seat on the Council is not granted.

THE winter in Chicago has been marked by an upheaval in the criminal stratum, to which a number of the larger entrepreneurs of crime have fallen victim, along with their henchmen. In the impotence of the local authorities frantic appeals were made to the federal government. The Chicago Tribune started a campaign for deportation, directed especially against the Sicilians. The so-called Better Government Association of Chicago approached the United States Senate, and was given leave to withdraw, with the advice to clean house itself. This is at the moment a counsel of impossible perfection because there has never been a closer alliance between government and crime than exists today in Cook County. The two factions of the Republican party, headed respectively by State's Attorney Robert E. Crowe and United States Senator Charles S. Deneen, freely accuse each other of such affiliation. It was alleged that just before the election of 1924 Crowe was guest of honor at a banquet tendered him by the notorious Genna gang, since almost exterminated. He denied it, whereupon the Tribune and the News published photographs showing not only Crowe, but Lieutenant-Governor Sterling, Secretary of State Emmerson, State Auditor Nelson, Judges Eller, Jonas and Carpenter, County Recorder Haas and leading officers of the State's Attorney's staff, sitting at table with Jim, Sam and Angelo Genna and Diamond Joe Esposito, while Crowe's campaign posters flared on the walls. At the same time the Tribune, to be impartial, published a photograph of the christening party of Diamond Joe's son showing in the seats of honor not only Senator Deneen, but several judges of his faction.

TO THE Tribune cry of deportation the United States Immigration authorities lent no deaf ear. Following the tradition of the Palmer raids there were seized in one night rather more than a hundred Italians, and the number now approximates two hundred. It is a safe bet that since the men wanted for specific crimes have been able hitherto to avoid capture, they have been able likewise to avoid the dragnet. It is not likely that the arrests en masse include a single individual responsible for the recent killings. The arrested men are charged with illegal entry, and the burden of proof is on them. Some have lost their papers. Some cannot remember on what vessel they arrived. One man with trachoma cannot prove his assertion that he contracted the disease several years after arriving in this country. In the absence of special influence or of funds to pay for a long fight they will be deported. In view of this grandstand play the public

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will forget the failure of the authorities to bring to justice the men actually responsible for the crimes committed; and an outrage upon helpless aliens will thus contribute to weaken still further the structure of legal control.

SOMETIMES the connection among government, business and crime assumes a grotesque, almost a morbid aspect. There is Assistant State's Attorney John Sbarbaro, for example, who conducts a well equipped mortuary establishment. It is noteworthy that John Sbarbaro, who fails so often to get the gangsters and gunmen as prosecuting attorney, gets them in the end as mortician. The shooting of Dion O'Banion, one of the greatest tsars of crime who ever ruled in Chicago, gave opportunity for a funeral such as Chicago has not seen since the first Carter Harrison was assassinated, a ceremony attended by leading citizens, among whom the judiciary were conspicuous. These obsequies were directed by the Sbarbaros, and the $10,000 casket, much admired at the time, was furnished by them.

THE proposed all-American deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea, by which ocean steamers could enter a canal from Lake Ontario, follow the route of the present New York barge canal to the Hudson River, and thence down the deepened Hudson to the Atlantic Ocean, deserves careful study. It must be compared with the proposed St. Lawrence waterway, and both must be measured against their economic desirability. Certain passing observations on the controversy occur to us. It is absurd to argue that the canal is a military necessity and must be favored simply because it is "all-American." That is the kind of bunkum we should have sloughed off on this continent. It is absurd to argue that it is better than the St. Lawrence waterway merely because its route from Ontario to the Atlantic is shorter than the route via the Canadian river. Ocean steamers would not stop at the Atlantic coast, they would go on to Europe, and the distance from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to Europe is much shorter than the distance from New York Bay. We must also remember that the present barge canal is a flat failure. It might be more used if it were fitted for ocean steamers by a deeper channel and higher bridges, but the engineers estimate that even so it would not pay its cost of maintenance. Then, too, American agricultural exports to Europe are falling away and will probably disappear in a few years. These are matters for expert study. To us, the one outstanding argument for the project is that by creating ocean ports at Albany and other Hudson cities it might tend to deflate the overgrown and uneconomic port of New York.

THOUGH the Senate has passed the absurd Concurrent Resolution No. 4 calling for private bids on Muscle Shoals, it has so amended the measure that before anything irrevocable is done Congress may have time to turn around and think and hear from the country. The very fact that the resolution is amended will necessitate its reconsideration by the House in the amended form before any action is taken. And the date for the reporting of bids is set back from April 1 to April 26. Since Congress plans to adjourn about June 1 there is a large chance that any recommendations reported so late would be lost in the jam and the whole matter would go over until next winter. Opponents of the resolution even in its amended form made a surprisingly strong showing; they mustered thirteen Democratic votes in addition to the usual stalwart progressive Republicans and the one Farmer-Laborite. Senator Heflin of Alabama and his sixteen supporting Democrats furnished the comedy of the occasion by pleading for immediate enactment without amendment of the Republican measure. Evidently loyalty to the private power interests transcends party politics.

BY PUTTING out a $500,000,000 refunding bond issue at 3.75 percent, redeemable in thirty or perhaps twenty years, to take the place of maturing short-term obligations at 4.75 percent, Secretary Mellon has saved the Treasury $5,000,000 annually. Investors will accept the lower interest rate because of the withdrawal of private funds from a sinking stock market and the length of the term of the new bonds. This was in some respects a bold and shrewd stroke of finance. So far, so good. But if Secretary Mellon had not induced Congress to reduce taxes, he might, with the Treasury surplus, have retired the whole $500,000,000 obligation in two, three, or at most five years. This would have saved the Treasury at least 3.75 percent of $500,000,000 for fifteen years, or $236,250,000. Furthermore, the rapid retirement of government indebtedness would have tended to reduce the interest rate necessary to pay, since there is a certain irreducible demand for government securities almost regardless of the interest rate. Mr. Mellon's policy may be penny wise, but it certainly is pound foolish.

THE Senate by formal resolution has called upon the Secretary of State for the text of the recent series of notes between this country and Mexico. He can of course refuse, on the ground that publication is incompatible with the public interest; or he can for the same reason impart the information to the members of the Senate in confidence. We sincerely trust that he will not do either. As long as the public is kept in the dark, it is easy for scare-mongers to circulate reports that things are much worse than they are, and thus inflame opinion until that worse state is brought about. Whatever reasons may sometimes exist for secret diplomacy when conferees are meeting to work out delicate diplomatic arrangements certainly cannot apply to an extended argument conducted at long range by means of a series of formal diplomatic notes. If the con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flict is not so sharp as is supposed, the public has a right to be reassured; and if matters are in a critical stage, there is all the more reason why the people of the United States should know the truth about it.

THE anti-Mexican propaganda at the moment takes two forms, and there is no doubt that as to both of them it has been successful with the average headline-reading citizen. The first statement is that "Mexico is confiscating American property," and the second, that "Mexico is driving out religion." Both these statements are false. As to the first, there is no reason to believe that any American investor is likely to suffer substantial loss on any legitimate investment through the working of the oil and land laws. The owners of the oil lands are offered exploiting leases for fifty years—a period far longer than is needed to exhaust all the oil in the ground. Foreign corporations which own agricultural land are given a decade in which to sell their property; individual foreign owners retain possession during their whole lifetimes, and their estates for a further period of five years. These are restrictions which Americans, naturally, find onerous. But we submit that they are a long way from the sort of "confiscation" of which the hostile press makes so much. We feel that the Mexican government is well justified in suggesting that any American or other alien who in the long run feels he has a grievance should appeal to the Mexican courts for redress. As for the religious issue, we have already pointed out that the action recently taken by the Mexican government merely puts into effect a provision of the Constitution of 1917; that instead of being sudden, it was preceded by ample and repeated warning; and that, instead of being hostile to religion as such, it prohibits merely the activities of alien clergymen, of every denomination. There is in short no basis for the hysterical denunciations of Mexico coming from clerical sources, with which the American press has been filled. That fact however does not lessen the seriousness of the situation which these denunciations create.

NEW YORK STATE is about to lower its income taxes by $4,212,000, but the loss of revenue will be more than doubly made up by a gift of $10,000,000 from the federal government. It is estimated that this amount will accrue to the state within eighteen months by virtue of the amendment to the federal estate tax which rebates 80 percent of the collections to the state of origin. Congressmen from other states who voted for the amendment should not fail to note its effect. Most of the taxable fortunes happen to be domiciled in New York. Yet the industries in which they were accumulated have levied on the people of the whole country. Through the federal estate tax the people of all states could share in such part of them as passed into public hands on the death of the owners. Yet the other states have voluntarily resigned to New York—already the richest state in the union—the major part of the share they might have had. It should also be remembered that the abandonment of federal grants-in-aid would tend to have a like effect. "States' rights" in such matters is perilously near to being "New York state's privilege."

Governors As State Bosses

THE report of the Hughes Commission on the reorganization of the government of New York has enjoyed a remarkably favorable reception. Republicans, Democrats and independents, if there are any independents left, have received it with cordial approval, and the Legislature will pass the bills which are required to put it into effect probably with a minimum of friction. The only important difference of opinion between the Republican Legislature and the Democratic Governor concerns the year in which the Governor and Senate will in the future be elected. The Legislature wishes it to take place in the same year as the Presidential election. The Governor wishes it to take place in some intermediate year. In this as in all his other matters of contention with the Legislature, the Governor occupies the stronger position. Obviously state issues will receive more specific consideration from the voters in years when their attention is not distracted by the more romantic and exciting occupation of choosing a President. Governor Smith's gift for being right is second only to the gift of his Republican opponents for being wrong. The reorganization of the New York state government is a brilliant and complete personal triumph for him. It embodies a genuine advance in the art of state political administration. He and a small group of Republican leaders have imposed it somehow on two political machines which, unless their hands had been forced, would have had nothing to do with it.

The practically universal approval with which public opinion has accepted this plan of state administration does not, however, justify the neglect of some of the remoter and less obvious aspects of this long overdue reform. Unanimity in politics has one disadvantage. It discourages discussion. There is a great deal still to be discussed about this pending reorganization of the government of the largest state in the American Union. The new instrument of government is remarkable for what it achieves, but it is equally remarkable for what it omits or does not even try to achieve. It simplifies and economizes the administrative organization of the state. It bestows on the governor practically complete administrative responsibility. It proposes to establish a method of framing budgets which will prevent the legislature from using its power over appropriations to weaken administrative efficiency. At the same time it enables the legislature, if it pleases, to curb administrative extravagance.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Everything which it proposes to accomplish in these respects has long been approved by students of American state government. But doubts will intrude. Is it sufficient to confine reform to the machinery of administration? What will its effect be upon the functioning of the other organs of state government, the legislature and the electorate? The original constitution projected a balance of powers between the executive and legislative branches of the government which were conceived to be wholly independent one of the other. The new plan centralizes power in the executive and tends to emancipate it from the necessity of consulting the legislature. Is this as wholly desirable as its friends assume?

Before discussing the question of its desirability, we must admit that the development of American state political institutions has almost from the start tended towards executive aggrandizement. During the first years of the Republic the people of the states tended to suspect the executive and to subordinate administrative to legislative and judicial authority. Since 1830, however, the state governors have gained steadily in popular confidence and effective political power at the expense of the legislature. The gain is partly traceable to the necessary increase in the scope of administrative activity which resulted from the development of a more complex, mature and highly diversified society and the correlative necessity of concentrating administrative control. But that is not all of it. As the states lost their primitive economic and social homogeneity, they began to need a more positive and unified political leadership than that which they could obtain from a legislature which was divided from the executive or from the party machines. For a while the need was met by setting up state political bosses such as Platt of New York or Mark Hanna in Ohio who practically dictated the conduct of state politics, but this unofficial dictatorship was resented for obvious reasons and was gradually succeeded by the increasing political prominence of the governor. All over the Union the legal and the extra-legal powers of that office have steadily increased—particularly in the large states. The political reorganization of New York consummates this process. It places in the hands of the governor an amount of legal power analogous to that which a parliamentary government lodges only in a whole Ministry, and it gives a skilful agitator a superb opportunity to create a popular following and, in the event of a quarrel with the legislature, to overawe his scattered and comparatively disorganized opponents.

The governor of a state, who possesses the powers which the governor of New York will possess in the future, will literally "boss" the politics of the state. For his complete control of an efficient departmentalized administration, plus his initiative in framing the budget, imply in practice a general initiative in legislation and the power usually to get his legislation passed. Of course he may have strong opposition to overcome when the control of the legislature is lodged in the hands of the party opposed to him, but when this occurs, as it has occurred recently in New York state, it is essentially an anachronism. The next Republican governor of New York, supported by a Republican legislature, will be within his own bailiwick a veritable colossus who will dominate the political life of the state.

It is, we believe, a serious question whether this aggrandizement of state executive power is not one of those two-edged reforms which are forced on a community as the compensation for an emerging lack of political balance and consequently an increasing political ineptitude. We fully recognize that American public opinion is granting this additional power to the state executive in response to an imperative need. The larger states are becoming enormously complex administrative machines which spend hundreds of millions a year, undertake an increasing number of essential economic activities and resemble a huge public corporation rather than what was once called a government. They must function more efficiently and economically than they have done in the past, and in increasing executive power and responsibility a state like New York is merely approximating the organization of its public business to that of an equally large private business. When in the past the legislature has participated in the conduct of the state business, its participation has been for the most part wasteful and debilitating. The chief motive of its intrusion has always been to provide jobs and pickings for local party workers. It is indispensable somehow to emancipate the conduct of the state's business from this distracting interference. But admitting this, it still remains a question whether a state like New York is not seeking economy and efficiency by too short and easy a route. Will not this aggrandizement of the executive tend to reduce the legislature to a state of insignificance corresponding to that of the Board of Aldermen of New York City?

An American state is not merely an administrative mechanism which spends money and seeks to obtain results at the least possible cost. It is a democratic society which is supposed to govern itself by popular representation. In theory the governor represents the people in so far as they are organized and prepared for specific action. The legislature represents the people as distributed into groups, regions and parties—the people, that is, in so far as they are organized for mutual consultation and deliberation. The state government cannot function unless the legislature and the executive freely coöperate in the attempt to devise a state policy which will win the support of a majority of the people and unless this process takes place in the background of a lively and discriminating popular interest. In the past the two branches of the government have worked together just well enough to prevent the system from breaking down. Except when their common allegiance to one party induced them to behave as loyal servants of the same

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

master, they have coöperated, if at all, as enemies. Political reformers have long recognized the need of experimenting with some less doctrinaire system, which would provide the two functions with more motive for coöperation, and which would, like parliamentary government, make for mutual dependence rather than for mutual interference. The reorganized state government of New York should have moved in this direction, but it has not. It seeks coöperation between the two branches, not by invigorating their motives for joint action, but by subordinating one to the other.

Under the New York plan the legislature is likely to become the unruly and dissatisfied creature of the governor, and the governor will be tempted to behave too much as an autocrat. The departmental heads will be his clerks and will be individually responsible to him. He will mediate between them and the legislature rather than they between him and the legislature. They will tend to be specialist administrators interested exclusively in their own departments. The governor in whom so much power is concentrated will not be effectively responsible to anybody. The legislature can annoy him. It can theoretically reduce his proposed appropriations, reject his bills, pass bills of its own and refuse to confirm his appointments, but in practice the legislature will be dominated by the huge administrative machine which it cannot control and by an executive chief who is answerable only to the far-away people of the state. It will occupy, as it has during the Smith régime at Albany, a position analogous to that of the Reichstag in Imperial Germany. It must serve either as an accomplice of the executive or at best as the negative vetoer of his proposed policies. In surrendering to the governor all control over the business of the state it is surrendering control over the policy of the state.

It is desirable, consequently, to greet the new government of New York state with circumspect rather than with rapturous approval. Under it the state's business will be conducted with much less political interference than has obtained in the past and at the same time state politics are likely to arouse and to deserve more popular interest. When an able and energetic man is elected governor, he is likely during his term of office to make himself more popular and influential than his party. He will possess every opportunity and every motive to assume an exclusive personal leadership. For this reason the party politicians will prefer, if possible, to select rather negative and indecisive individuals as candidates for the office and whenever they succeed, their weak nominees are likely to become the creatures not only of the local bosses but of the increasingly powerful state bureaucracy. On the other hand, the governor who is able to take full advantage of his peculiar position will centralize in his own person an amount of power which will incur the danger of being from a democratic point of view abnormal and unwholesome.

Democratic politics is the art of adjusting and integrating the different interests and opinions of the people for the purpose so far as possible of giving all of them their fair share of expression in the conduct of the state; and its success is measured by the ability of its politicians to achieve unity by coördination rather than by exclusion or by subordination. But an official state boss, like all dictators, is set up in order to exercise authority over other people and other agencies rather than in coöperation with them. He obtains his influence by appealing to the imagination of the voters as a superman to whom they can turn over their troublesome problems. Inasmuch as the administration of the business of the state can no longer remain the cat's-paw of a peculiarly cheap and irresponsible form of partisan politics, it may be necessary to experiment with a super-governor as general manager of the state. But the experiment is dangerous and will require unusually careful watching. The official state boss will create quite as many questions as he will cure. For he will encourage the weakness which already exists among American voters to play favorites and to pass their own proper political responsibilities on to these paragons of power.

The Nickel Plate Decision

WHEN the Interstate Commerce Commission refused to approve the Nickel Plate merger it threw little light on the general principles of railroad consolidation as a public policy, but much light on the methods by which mergers are made.

A majority of the Commission favored the proposed new system as an agent of transportation. There were reservations about the failure to include certain short lines. Chairman Eastman disagreed with the majority even in believing that the desirability of the system in the main had been proved, though his reasons for disagreement were not elaborated. This aspect of the matter we hope to discuss in a subsequent issue at greater length.

What the Commission did disapprove was the method by which the consolidation had been approached, and the results of that method to minority stockholders, to stockholders in general, and to the public. The Van Sweringen interests, who already had achieved a hold on the Nickel Plate, the Erie and the Pere Marquette, next went after the Chesapeake and Ohio, with the Hocking Valley, which it controls. They succeeded in buying in a majority voting interest in the Chesapeake and Ohio. Then, acting as directors of that road, they proceeded to make terms with themselves as directors of the other roads for the exchange of securities by which the Chesapeake would enter the merger. These terms were not the result of a genuine bargain, and they were not the result of any careful calculations as to the value of the Chesapeake. They were apparently predetermined in the interest of the promoters. Minority stockholders of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chesapeake, who had no share in the other properties to be merged, objected to the terms. The Commission sustained this objection on the ground of the way the deal was consummated, without attempting to say what terms would be fair.

The Commission also noted that the Van Sweringens had built up an intricate financial mechanism by which they could direct the great new system without having a large financial stake in it. The Van Ess Company is a personal holding corporation which they control, and which controls the Nickel Plate. Under the terms of the merger the Nickel Plate would in turn be a holding company for the consolidated system. The re-shuffling of securities which was planned would deprive many stockholders in the several roads of their voting rights, especially the preferred stockholders. The net result is seen in the fact that while at present the Van Sweringens control directly or indirectly but 32.85 percent of the voting stock of the companies affected by their proposal—and own still less—the consummation of their plan would bring them, without the purchase of a single additional share, control of 50.93 percent of the voting stock of the consolidated company.

This is skilful financial prestidigitation of a sort familiar to students of railroad and other corporation history. But ability to get away with it and make a fortune by it does not necessarily qualify two bright young realtors to run a 9,000-mile trunk-line system. Somehow there doesn't seem to be much logical connection between a scheme of this kind and the consolidation for better railroad service which Congress favored and authorized the Commission to permit. The Commission is old-fashioned enough to believe that those who invest real money in railroads ought to be responsible for management and ought to be safeguarded in any privileges which may go with ownership and responsibility.

We agree with the Commission that the Van Sweringen method leaves much to be desired. But we doubt whether the alternative which they visualize is really going to work. Doubtless the minority stockholders of the Chesapeake and Ohio can now get better terms. Doubtless formal voting rights will be preserved for other stockholders. But are the stockholding rank and file actually going to exercise their democratic privilege of rising up and managing their properties? Can we depend on scattered and changing stockholders even to plan consolidations, much less to effectuate them? Such a thing would be unique in railroad experience.

The theory of the responsibility of ownership is a nice theory, but it has only a tenuous basis in modern fact. If we want consolidations or indeed any railroad control under private enterprise, other than that furnished by salaried executives, we shall probably have to rely on profiteering promoters, or bankers or minority interests of some kind. The real alternative to the Van Sweringens is an entirely different way of choosing those who are to direct the policy of railroad systems—a way which makes no pretense of control through private ownership. The Commission has simply uncovered and formally disapproved an extreme example of a practice which is customary and well-nigh inevitable under large scale industry as it is now organized. We here predict that if there ever is a Nickel Plate consolidation, the Van Sweringens will control it, and will do so without owning a majority of the invested dollars.

Mr. Justice Holmes

FORTY years ago a group of eager youth, groping for direction, were summoned to consider the life of the thinker—his pangs and his joys. "I say to you in all sadness of conviction, that to think great thoughts you must be heroes as well as idealists. Only when you have worked alone—when you have felt around you a black gulf of solitude more isolating than that which surrounds the dying man, and in hope and in despair have trusted to your own unshaken will—then only will you have achieved. Thus only can you gain the secret isolated joy of the thinker, who knows that, a hundred years after he is dead and forgotten, men who never heard of him will be moving to the measure of his thought . . ." To Mr. Justice Holmes, who thus spoke to the youth of all times, has been vouchsafed the rare glory of being himself the witness of the governance of his mind over men's thought and action. Unflinchingly he has lived his chosen life of the thinker—but the thinker under fire, applying the mood and method of the philosopher to the daily struggles of men and the passionate conflicts of society.

The fruit of his wisdom has become part of the common stock of civilization. Wherever law is known, he is known. Whatever name classifiers may give to the particular texture of law prevailing in different parts of the world his contribution is everywhere acknowledged—in China and Japan, by the civilians of Germany, in the native soil of the common law. Steeped in legal history, he above all others has shaped the methods and ideas of modern jurisprudence. Just because his mind is scrupulously sceptical has he been able to escape sterile dogma as well as individualistic anarchy. The methods of reason, not its ephemeral episodes, can unite coherence with vitality. To this outlook of reason he has steadfastly adhered in responding to the most subtle demand that has ever been made upon law and judges—to maintain the clash of forces of a continent by appeal to a formal constitution. From his first opinion on the Supreme Bench, nearly twenty-five years ago, to his latest utterance, Mr. Justice Holmes has insisted, with the vision of a seer, that tolerance is of the very stuff of our Constitutional system. The Constitution "is an experiment, as all life is an experiment."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But on his eighty-fifth birthday we greet not merely the great magistrate, the valiant thinker. His significance transcends the bounds of his thinking. He is one of those unique gifts—a creative spirit, whose response to life is so transforming that he vivifies life for all who come within his range. How ludicrous appear the crabbed notions about the man of law when we think of the flashing presence of Mr. Justice Holmes!

> The law the lawyers know about
> Is property and land;
> But why the leaves are on the trees,
> And why the waves disturb the seas,
> Why honey is the food of bees,
> Why horses have such tender knees,
> Why winters come when rivers freeze,
> Why Faith is more than what one sees,
> And Hope survives the worst disease,
> And Charity is more than these,
> They do not understand.

The tender, wise, beautiful being who is Mr. Justice Holmes in himself redeems the whole legal profession.

Those Nervous Stocks

WHEN, after Mr. Coolidge's election, stocks began to soar rapidly, the papers were full of solemn statements about the millions of "wealth" gained by the country through this appreciation. These same wiseacres, to be logical, must have thought last week when 6,000,000 shares changed hands in two days with an average drop of about ten points that $60,000,000 was somehow lost to our citizens, and that a large part of it was regained in the next day or two when the rebound came. All this, of course, is nonsense. The individual speculators who won or lost are one thing; the real national wealth is another. The only significance of the stock market to those not gambling in it is its relation to general business conditions. And business conditions in turn are significant to the mass of the people, not so much through the money profits which may be piled up as through the volume of goods and services turned out, and the purchasing power created to buy them through wages and employment of labor.

Sudden and rapid turns of the market for shares are poor indications of the general state of prosperity. Other factors, such as the amount of credit available to speculators, the operations of professional market manipulators, the state of mind of the thousands of outsiders who have extra funds to play with—these are far more influential in altering the market for shares over short periods than the facts of production, trade, employment and business profits. General prosperity has been visible since the fall of 1924, but we have believed and have several times stated that the bull market which has with a few interruptions characterized this period has far outrun actual business prospects and may be attributed chiefly to other factors—such as the $3,500,000,000 of loans which, due to easy credit conditions, the banks were able to extend on stock exchange collateral. We have expected the market to break in due time, like any speculative bubble. What operations have been going on behind the scenes no outsider can know, but anyone with the slightest knowledge of economics could have predicted that the market was flying too high and might fall. Just as he would not have regarded the market's previous extraordinary rise as a forerunner of equivalent prosperity, so now he could not see in its fall a sure sign of deep depression.

Even at the low of last week's startling deflation the average price of fifty representative stocks was some eight points above the high of the same period a year ago. For this reason alone it is reasonable to expect a further sagging at some time in the near future. The mystic confidence that the end of a rise will never be reached, which always develops when large numbers of people are trying to get rich quickly in a speculative whirlwind, has collided with hard facts. There is almost certain to be a further withdrawal from the market on the part of those who bought with extravagant hopes, and this may easily proceed until shares are undervalued in relation to their yield.

There are indeed signs that all may not be well with industry a few months hence, but these proceed from other quarters than Wall Street. They concern the failure of the purchasing power of wages and of farmers' incomes to keep up with increasing production, the approaching end of the building boom, the possible slump in foreign loans and foreign trade. While these may prove serious enough, we are lucky indeed that speculative fever has not spread from the stock market to business in general, that manufacturers and merchants have not loaded up with large stocks of goods and bid up prices in an inflationary movement which would presage a corresponding deflation. Business depression is unfortunate, but business depression plus a deflation of commodity prices is temporarily calamitous. We may yet be spared the latter.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1926, IN THE U. S., BY THE NEW REPUBLIC, INC., 421 WEST 21ST STREET, NEW YORK
HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, DANIEL MEBANE, TREASURER

EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY BRUCE BLIVEN ROBERT LITTELL
ALVIN JOHNSON GEORGE SOULE STARK YOUNG
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JANE ADDAMS JOHN DEWEY EDMUND WILSON
GILBERT SELDES E. C. LINDEMAN LEO WOLMAN
WALDO FRANK

RATES: SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN, FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Will Europe Disarm?

DISARMAMENT would not in itself prevent wars, for while the possibility of constructing an army in a few months and supplying it with munitions exists—as it must always exist—nations may resort, if they choose, to arms. The American effort in the Great War is a sufficient proof of this assertion. Yet, while we must not exaggerate the results of disarmament, there is, in the laying down of arms, a moral gesture which may be decisive. When every country of Europe was engaged in a race in armaments before 1914, capable observers knew that a clash was inevitable. Germany increased her army and navy; England increased her navy; Russia increased her army; France adopted three years' military service; and other nations piled up mountains of explosives. It was sheer folly to suppose that they would not one day explode. If therefore we reverse the process—if we begin to scrap the murderous machines—the prospects of peace will be better.

Much will depend upon the "spirit" in which international agreements are made. If there are mental reservations, if the purpose is merely to deprive a rival of a weapon in which she excels, while preserving the weapon in which our own country excels, disarmament might conceivably be almost as dangerous as armament. The objective would be the same: that of placing one's self in a position of superiority to one's neighbor. If we cleared our minds of cant, we would see, for example, that an air power which insisted on the reduction of land forces, though excluding from disarmament debates the question of airplanes, would be selfishly seeking to secure its supremacy. By partial disarmament it is possible to obtain a relative preponderance, precisely as that preponderance might be obtained by the energetic production of war instruments. In the long run intentions chiefly count. The problem is much more complex than it appears to be at first sight. Nevertheless, general disarmament is desirable, because it necessarily implies some abandonment of a militarist policy, and imposes those delays in moments of crisis which are conducive to wisdom.

The postponement of the Preliminary Conference which is to be held in Geneva disappointed America. Many of the reasons which were given were futile. To declare, for instance, that nothing could be done until Germany had joined the League of Nations, was obviously a pretext; for several other countries which have been invited are not members of the League of Nations, nor are likely to be at an early date. Germany indeed is already disarmed—or if it be argued that she has not fully conformed with the requirements of the Versailles Treaty in this respect, she has at any rate conformed as fully as any nation may be expected to conform with the accords that may be reached at Geneva: always will there be a certain discrepancy between promise and performance. As for the dispute between Switzerland and Russia on the meeting-place, it was trivial and could be swept aside at any time. The real reasons were deeper. It was seen that there were immense divergencies of view between the prospective participants, and that public discussions would plainly reveal these divergencies. It was thought better to strive for private understandings in advance. At least, it was urged, there should be established a common program.

The outlook therefore is not quite as unclouded as is sometimes represented. For me the most hopeful sign is that in spite of obstacles that arise and will continue to arise, there is a universal demand for a serious consideration of the subject. That demand is irresistible. Procrastination is of no avail: sooner or later the Powers must lay their cards on the table. It is not only America who is perturbed at the maintenance of huge armies by nearly every nation in Europe and who protests against the perilous expenditure. Each people is awake to realities and refuses to be deceived. If Locarno means anything it means that there shall be greater trustfulness, with a corresponding relief from the burden of militarism. Unless practical measures are swiftly taken, Locarno will be treated as a mirage and not a miracle. Governments may manœuvre as they please, but the ordinary citizen is cognizant of the issue: either Locarno is a fact which leads logically to disarmament; or it is a fiction which changes nothing for the diplomatists. Of two things, one. The politicians cannot have it both ways.

So I believe that whether the politicians are willing or not, the pressure of public opinion will oblige them not only to advocate but to achieve disarmament. If they are bluffing, their bluff will be called. Seven years have elapsed since the Armistice, and apart from the Washington Conference which confined itself to naval problems, no real steps towards the establishment of an acceptable scheme of disarmament have been taken. This is the principal business of the League of Nations. I do not think it is fair to say that the League has failed. Many hurdles had to be leaped. Europe was not ripe for these discussions. I remember a striking incident of a few years ago in which I was personally involved; but I may be forgiven for the personal reference in that it throws light on the mentality of the European statesmen. One day I was rung up by a well known public man who asked me to visit him in his hotel in Paris. What he said to me at lunch was (I do not answer for the exact words or figures) as follows:

"You know that for some years there has been vague talk of disarmament, and commissions have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been at work. They have produced nothing of importance. One begins to doubt their sincerity. Now I have been chosen to represent my country on a commission, and I made it clear that I would bring forward a concrete plan. Here is the plan. It may be bad or good, but at least it furnishes a starting point. I have set down proposed coefficients of national armies—say five for France, four for England, three for Italy, two for Czechoslovakia, and so forth. I do not in the least mind how much the coefficients are twisted and turned. My purpose is to force some kind of decision. Naturally I must observe a certain degree of confidence, but if you wish to help you may use your discretion as you wish."

That he was in earnest I could not doubt, but nothing came of his attempt. Finding no mention of the plan in the newspapers, eventually I considered it my duty to write an article on the subject. The newspaper to which I sent it had never refused anything of mine before, and here was what is known in journalistic jargon as a "scoop." Various excuses were proffered me at great length and with all courtesy, but—the article never appeared. It was held to be inopportune, embarrassing, confusing, and the scheme was not to be seriously considered. Not for a moment do I sponsor it, but as its author said, it was a beginning. I was discouraged: I did not insist: I came to the conclusion that the discussion of disarmament in Europe was premature and unreal: and the conspiracy of silence was successful.

Why then do I consider that the conditions have altered today? There will certainly be opposition to disarmament, but the chances of success have improved. Since then we have had the Dawes report and the Locarno pact. There was indeed little to be accomplished until the reparations dispute had been settled. Here was a cause of quarrel, not only between France and Germany, but between all the Powers, great and small. Until it was swept out of the way there was no hope for Europe. The Dawes report was the turning-point of Continental relations. It can be criticized severely, but whatever may be thought of its omissions and its defects and its ultimate workability it has in my opinion never been given all the credit that is due to it as an indispensable if provisional solution of a European problem. Without it nothing could be done: with it everything can be done. It was the key which opened many doors, and its immediate direct results are insignificant compared with the possibility which it provided of an entirely fresh orientation of European policy.

Without the Dawes report there would have been no Locarno pact; and without the Locarno pact, which implied the abandonment of an age-long feud, which called for goodwill and collaboration, which placed the former belligerents, victors and vanquished, on an equal footing, further progress towards peace was out of the question. Here again severe criticisms may be expressed: there are undoubted flaws in the Locarno pact, but if it is not to be dismissed as altogether deceptive, then it must take us a stage forward. It is not a goal, but a halting-place.

Thus for the first time we are able to approach the problem of disarmament. We are not only able to make this approach but we are compelled to make it. The peoples will assuredly not be content to stand still. They clamor for the logical conclusion. After the effusions of recent months a fiasco would be at once foolish and lamentable—it might even be tragic—and the disillusionment would discredit diplomatists who still think it their duty to be artful.

In France it is to be especially noted that the opponents of the Locarno pact—who accept it as a fait accompli, dolefully and dismally—are showing a keener sense of logic than the champions of the Locarno pact. They say in effect: "Since we have gone so far, we are bound to go farther. If, as our adversaries state, a new era has opened, then it is impossible to refute the German contention that, in this atmosphere of confidence, the watch on the Rhine is unnecessary, the efforts towards preparedness are superfluous. We should have preferred to rely on coercion; we should have preferred to keep our powder dry. But as Germany is permitted to rise up again, and her loyalty and friendliness are admitted, and she is to be given a seat on the Council of the League of Nations, we have lost our trump card and must reconcile ourselves with good grace to the new European system. Germany urges that disarmament, as provided in the Versailles Treaty, was not intended to be unilateral, and that we must disarm to her level—or permit her to arm to our level. Since the pass has been surrendered we cannot oppose these arguments. We are afraid of the consequences, but we have issued our warnings in vain and are not responsible."

The champions of the Locarno pact are not quite as ready to accept this thesis, which they suppose is elaborated for their discomfiture. They have ingeniously endeavored to complicate the question. They are pleasantly paradoxical in pointing out that the number of men under arms and the quantity of munitions in depots are not an indication of the strength of a nation. Almost one is persuaded that France has deliberately weakened herself in keeping from half to three quarters of a million men in barracks; and that Germany has deliberately strengthened herself by reducing her army to 100,000 men; and that Poland and Czechoslovakia and the rest are giving evidence of their enfeeblement in the cause of peace by supporting large armies. There is a sense in which this pleasant paradox is true. I do not believe that France is any stronger because she has adhered to the method of making all her young men serve in peace time for eighteen months under the colors. Military might is always potential and not actual. But why not then resort to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

newer methods, which will have better regard to the reserve of forces and their speedy mobilization, and less regard to the number of raw recruits who are kicking their heels in garrison towns remote from the frontier?

The questionnaire which has been drawn up raises interesting points. In aiming at disarmament we should ask how many peacetime factories can be converted into wartime factories; what transport facilities exist; how many commercial airplanes can be transformed into bombing airplanes; in short, what are the industrial, financial, diplomatic, geographical, strategic and economic potentialities of the various Powers. Is a particular country more likely to be invaded than another country? (The old argument, based on fear!) Should maritime resources be treated apart from territorial resources, or should the army and navy be treated as a single unit, in estimating the respective fighting forces of nations?

If these matters are to be gone into, the discussion will be prolonged and perhaps will never be terminated. In so far as they are designed to postpone decisions, they are to be deprecated. We are told that Europe has already undergone a moral disarmament. I believe this to be true in respect of the bulk of the peoples. Never was there a greater popular push for peace. But whether it is true in respect of the old-time diplomatists is a question on which I prefer to pronounce no verdict. There are plenty of indications that distrust, suspicion, animosity, have not been eliminated. If fighting were inconceivable, the questionnaire, which complicates the problem, would be an interesting exercise in academic debate, but it would be nothing more. Moral disarmament is an empty phrase unless it is manifested in voluntary material disarmament. Perhaps we are still some distance from that end, but towards it Europe, and I like to think mankind in general, is marching.

SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

Paris.

A Step Toward Industrial Self-Government

I

CENTURIES of experience have shown that law, to be effective and vital, must either be based upon thoroughly established custom, as was the common law, or it must be based upon a common understanding and a common purpose of the great majority of those concerned, and it must be supported by the social will. Effective law is but one type, though an important one, of a real consensus, which means a common understanding, common purpose, and common will.

As an astonishing number of the problems now left to legislature, court and commission are intrinsically industrial in nature, it is instructive to compare the two primary sources of law with some simple coöperative methods which are now rapidly coming forward for the solution of such industrial problems.

The common law has been one of the strongest and most fundamental forces in Anglo-Saxon civilization. Its slow, evolutionary growth made possible so perfect an adjustment to the conditions of the civilization with which it developed, that few forms of social control have exceeded it in power and effectiveness. Perhaps only the control exerted by folk-ways has been more powerful. The method of its growth was closely akin to the slow, remorseless process of natural selection by which nature arrives at types. The common-law method did arrive at a real consensus, however painful and costly the individual cases in its evolutionary process.

The statutory method has almost entirely replaced the common-law method in the making of laws. The principal reasons for this have been: the necessity of more rapid adjustment to meet changing industrial conditions; the need for greater clearness and definiteness than was possible in common law; and the attempt to avoid the enormous costs, human and economic, of the older method.

II

Although in simple theory the statutory process is supposed to give a real consensus, it is now generally admitted that it fails to do so in the great majority of industrial cases.

The complexity of modern life and industry makes it impossible for the machinery of political government to solve the enormous number of questions with which it attempts to deal. Critical observers agree that legislatures the world over have been suffering a serious decline in power and prestige for more than half a century. Few legislators have any adequate knowledge of technical industrial problems. Hence, the framing of legislation is necessarily left to committees influenced, and more or less guided, by interested people outside of the legislature—that is to say, by the lobby.

Under existing conditions most specialized problems get lost in partisan struggles over popular issues. In this country the problem of obtaining a real national consensus through legislation is made immensely more difficult since most industrial questions come within the jurisdiction of the forty-eight

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

states. Notwithstanding the large amount of valuable work which has been done toward securing uniform legislation, success has been attained only in a very small proportion of our laws. It has been the experience of the National Commission for Uniform Legislation, an official body, that even in relatively non-controversial subjects from ten to twenty years are required to secure general uniformity.

Legislation on technical matters frequently hampers progress. When once a law is enacted changes become very difficult and often require many years. For example, a technical safety code providing against fire hazards in electrical installations was enacted as a New York City ordinance ten years ago. New developments have caused very considerable changes in practice during these ten years but repeated efforts to get the ordinance modernized by substituting new editions of the code have failed because such proposals have been involved with extraneous matters in the tangle of city politics. The state law of Pennsylvania lays down in great detail just how blasting in coal mines shall be conducted. Research has developed an improved technique which not only reduces the life hazard in the mining of coal but makes possible very definite economies in production. Yet the introduction of the safer and more economical technique is prohibited by the law.

III

In most industrial problems, what is needed is not a consensus of the whole population (which the legislative method is theoretically supposed to bring about) but only a consensus of those directly affected and competent to handle the problem. We are familiar with this concept in local self-government. The great growth of trade and technical associations in the last twenty-five years has furnished the machinery and the background for simple coöperative solutions.

There may be mentioned as examples of such solutions:

> The many codes of business and professional ethics which have been adopted by trade and professional organizations.
>
> The use of impartial chairmen, in settling disputes between employers and employes, and more particularly in so developing the relationships between them that disputes shall not arise.
>
> The work of the American Law Institute, which, it is intended, "shall not only analyze the existing conditions of the law and set forth the legal problems involved, but shall also set forth with the care and precision of a well drawn statute those principles which will not only tend to clarify and simplify the law but better adapt it to the needs of life." The results of the undertaking (which has been generously financed, and which has the support of the more important courts of the country, including the Supreme Court itself) are to provide bench, bar and legislature with an authoritative guide.
>
> The work of the war service committees which were organized by the various industries to deal with the difficulties and emergencies which faced the industrial groups during the War. These committees succeeded in solving with remarkable promptness innumerable problems which would have required years of work through ordinary legal channels, and many of which would have been incapable of any solution through such channels.
>
> The plan which is coming into effective use by regulatory commissions of allowing the various parties at interest, themselves to work out a settlement which is then legally ratified by the commission.
>
> The "commercial arbitration plan" of settling disputes out of court, which has received a great impetus within the last few years. For example, all damage claims arising between railway companies, and the overwhelming majority of disputes between producers, distributors and exhibitors of moving pictures are now settled in this way. Both of these examples include many thousands of cases which would otherwise go to the courts each year.

This movement toward industrial self-government through coöperative rather than through legal channels, has reached its most extensive development in the field of industrial standardization.

The standardization method of getting a national consensus may be illustrated by the problem of securing adequate protection for workmen in the operation of punch presses, which had become one of the most serious problems of accident protection in the mechanical field. The question of deciding upon reasonable provision for safety was placed in the hands of a joint technical commitee composed of accredited representatives of all interested groups: the employers who used the presses in their establishments, through their respective trade associations; state industrial authorities having legal jurisdiction over the matter, through their national association; insurance companies whose rates must be based upon the hazards, through their national organizations; employes operating the presses, their representation being arranged through the U. S. Department of Labor upon nomination by the workers' organizations concerned; national engineering societies; technical bureaus of the federal government interested in the subject; and independent specialists. In all, fifteen national organizations participated.

After two years of careful and intensive work a safety code on the subject was completed. Many obstacles had to be met, but a solution was found in every case. Sometimes it was simply a question of analyzing existing data; sometimes an investigation in laboratory or workshop. In every instance candid discussion across the council table found a solution, and ultimate unanimous agreement was reached. The safety code for punch presses is now recognized as the authoritative guide to industry on the subject, and it is being legally adopted by the various state commissions.

A safety code dealing with machine shop practice has been taken as an example of the general plan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

followed in modern industrial standardization work. It is typical of the two hundred projects which are going forward on a national scale. The procedure applies equally to specifications for use as a basis of purchase, for example, specifications for paint, cement, and metals; dimensional standardization to secure interchangeability of supplies and the interworking of apparatus; methods of testing apparatus and materials, particularly as a basis of acceptance in commercial transactions; nomenclature, including definitions of technical terms used in specifications and contracts; and grades and grading rules.

For more than half a century the American manufacturer has been standardizing within his own plant, and this has been an essential factor in the development of mass production, which is the chief American contribution to the development of industry.

Company standardization gave rise to collective standardization within more or less homogeneous groups. Such group standardization carried on by technical and trade associations has been an important development of the last quarter-century.

Just as company standardization led to group standardization, so the latter has inevitably led to national standardization among industries as a whole, technical and trade associations here playing the same rôle that the individual company plays in group standardization.

When substantial unanimity is reached and registered by action of the joint committee in charge of any particular project the standard is formally certified as an "American Standard" by the organization which serves as the national clearing house of industrial standardization in this country—the American Engineering Standards Committee.

Similar national standardization movements have been developed in all of the principal industrial countries. There are now twenty such national organizations, each of which serves as a clearing-house and provides the machinery for systematic coöperation of all interested groups within its own country. More than 250 national organizations are officially coöperating in the work of the American Engineering Standards Committee. These are primarily technical and trade associations, and departments and bureaus of the federal government. In six years of work seventy-five national standards have been formally agreed upon and more than a hundred others are well under way. Usually from ten to fifteen national organizations are represented on the technical committee handling each project, but sometimes there are as many as thirty-five.

IV

An interesting and crucial test of the genuineness of the consensus which the standardization method yields, lies in the legal aspects of the results.

Time-honored phrases in contracts such as "good workmanship throughout," "best commercial grades," which actually mean nothing and often lead to the law courts, are giving place to clear, definite specifications as a basis of purchase. Such specifications, together with the methods of making acceptance tests, are made so definite that any competent engineer or testing laboratory can determine whether material supplied on contracts based upon them complies with the standard. These standards are becoming of steadily increasing importance; for example, more than 95 percent of the cement produced in this country complies with a single specification.

One might think that it would be sufficient to specify that the diameter of a steel rod should be one inch. This, however, is not the case. If it be a fitting part, it is necessary to specify how close to the ideal diameter of one inch the part must be made. If only the diameter be given, the purchaser may attempt to reject the material on the ground that it is not sufficiently accurate since no rod can be made precisely one inch in diameter on account of unavoidable limitations in workmanship. On the other hand, the seller may attempt to deliver wholly inaccurate material, claiming it to be within commercial limits. The solution of the problem consists, not in a law suit, but in specifying precisely within how many thousandths of an inch the material must be to the ideal dimension. The variation thus allowed is technically known as the "tolerance." Systematic methods of classifying different grades of fits, together with the precise tolerance allowed in each case, have been developed as a guide to the mechanical industries.

Of equal importance is agreement upon technical terms used in specifications and contracts. It is to be recalled that a large part of the civil cases with which courts deal hinge upon the exact meaning of words and phrases. In fact, a large, perhaps even the greater part, of standardization consists intrinsically in agreement upon definitions.

After careful study, counsel of long experience with important industrial and trade-association matters are of the opinion that in the matter of safety codes the results of the method will have an important legal bearing upon local regulations, ordinances and rulings. Suppose, for example, that through the regular procedure which has been outlined, a unanimous or practically unanimous agreement has been reached on the degree of protection which should be required against the hazards in the use of some particular device. Suppose a local authority imposes a much more drastic requirement. A court in considering the reasonableness of the more drastic requirements will almost of necessity consider the existence and status of the national code and the method followed in its formulation so important that it would be difficult to produce evidence that would outweigh it. Similarly, in a case in which very much less protection had been provided.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

V

The legislative method and the standardization method are both designed to keep pace with the development of industry, which has far outstripped the possibilities of the common-law process.

The standardization method does not cast the work into a rigid mold, which is often the case with legal methods. For example, a year after the safety code for grinding wheels was issued, there were two important accidents incident to developments that had not been foreseen at the time the code was formulated. Within a few months necessary investigation had been made and provision to take care of the new condition was well under way.

In a particular case it may take longer to get a *decision* by the voluntary coöperative method than through legislation or official administrative act. On the other hand, as has been shown, a real *consensus* is much more readily obtained. Normally this means that a reasonably satisfactory solution, and not a mere compromise, has been reached on fundamentals, though compromises are often necessary on less important details.

It may often be necessary to "settle" questions by majority vote of legislative bodies, or by the arbitrary decision of an executive officer, even though important dissenting minorities have to be over-ridden. It not infrequently happens, however, that questions "settled" in this way do not stay settled, because they have not been solved but only decided.

VI

The standardization method has all the directness and vitality of elementary local self-government.

We do not leave to Congress, or to the vote of 110,000,000 people, the decision whether a bridge shall be bulit in the city of Oshkosh. We leave it to the people of Oshkosh, who will walk over it and ride over it, and who will have to pay for it. Why should not the very limited groups directly interested in each of the innumerable industrial problems with which they are faced, themselves solve these problems through coöperative effort?

It is significant that each joint technical committee, upon which all interested groups are represented, and in which decisions are reached, is essentially a miniature legislature organized upon a subject basis instead of upon a geographical basis. It is the same principle upon which trade associations are organized, and trade associations play a far more important rôle in the development of industrial policies than do chambers of commerce, which are organized along geographical lines.

It may be asked—it has been asked—whether the standardization movement is a step toward the "industrial parliament" which enthusiastic prophets proclaim is about to supplant, or at least to supplement, our existing legislative machinery.

Such speculations are interesting, but the fact remains that the movement must continue to develop along conservative lines, since each problem has to be solved by men responsible for the continuity of the industrial processes involved.

In other words, the movement is evolutionary and not revolutionary. Furthermore, its success so far has depended upon the simple direct relations which have been compared to those in local self-government. Could these be maintained in a complex structure, or would there be the same sort of pyramiding which seems to be inherent in all large political units? Probably the answer would depend upon whether such a comprehensive structure could in practice be based upon two simple fundamentals: first, that the integrity of such a plan must rest upon sincere and continuous effort to get solutions, rather than mere decisions; second, that there must be a real consensus of all groups concerned with each problem in regard to its solution rather than the enforcement of a decision by mere voting power.

Unfortunately, the majority of us do not yet appreciate this, so used are we to the continual drive for power through ability to command a majority vote. It is remarkable that in this scientific age, so large a part of political government yet consists of the attempt to go by the royal road of issuing decrees—for decrees they are, whether issued by executive, by court, by commission, by legislature, or by popular vote—instead of by the painstaking one of seeking the facts and securing a real consensus in a solution based on the facts.

The coöperative method is at present not without serious limitations. Many important groups are not organized so that they can act effectively in work on problems to which the method is applicable. There is the frequent short-sighted jockeying for immediate commercial advantage. There are the endless jealousies and bickerings within and between organizations and groups. Most men do not understand the meaning of representation and its responsibilities. There are many important problems to which one would expect the method would apply, in which those most concerned are not yet ready to take their place at the council table for a candid examination of all of the facts. The method cannot compel coöperation; it can only induce it.

Nevertheless, experience in diverse fields has amply shown that the method combines many of the advantages of the common-law and of the statutory-law methods, and that it is flexible and responsive to changes in industrial conditions, while it avoids many of the limitations and abuses that have grown up about the legislative process.

How far and how rapidly industrial self-government can go in relieving legislature and court of the impossible load which they are now facing, and in relieving industry of the resulting burdensome and hampering restrictions, must depend upon the vision and the initiative of our industrial leadership.

P. G. Agnew.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Portrait of a Federal Judge

MOST of us have been taught to look with great respect upon judges, and above all, on federal judges. The theory is that somehow when a lawyer gets to the bench he becomes a superman, moved only by an abstract sense of legality and justice; and that when he gets as high as a federal judgeship he is practically a saint, detached from the greeds, prejudices and passions which becloud the conduct of lesser men.

This pretty theory had something of a shock the other day. The Senate took a look at one federal judge, Wallace F. McCamant, of Portland, Oregon. What they found didn't somehow seem to be in keeping with the preconceived ideas. In fact they found Mr. McCamant to be a very unusual specimen indeed.

The gentleman was recently appointed by President Coolidge to be a judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Judicial Circuit. He had had a recess appointment since last June; but when his regular nomination came up for confirmation in the Senate little was known of him. In fact, it might be said that nothing was known of him except that he had stampeded the Republican national convention of 1920 into giving the Vice-Presidential nomination to the governor of Massachusetts. Most Senators probably assumed that it must be an able citizen who could climb on a chair at the weary end of a convention and sway such a herd for Coolidge, after the same group of Senators who had nominated Harding had decreed that Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin was to be his running-mate. In any case, the McCamant appointment was regarded as a White House debt-funding settlement. Therefore the Senators were not disposed to be over-critical.

But when the time arrived to vote on the nomination it developed that Senator Hiram Johnson of California knew several things about Mr. McCamant which he was not averse to telling. When he related some of these in executive session, the reaction was such that a friend of Mr. McCamant, Senator McNary of Oregon, averted the risk of an adverse vote by moving to send the nomination back to the Senate Judiciary Committee so that McCamant might have an opportunity to answer the charges.

Thus it was that one of those rare opportunities was afforded to inspect the cranial contents of a man six months on the federal bench and holding a rank in the federal judiciary second only to that of associate justice on the Supreme Court of the United States. Here is a specimen of his thinking, taken from the record:

> SENATOR JOHNSON: Did you publicly, in a public speech, characterize Justice Brandeis, of the United States Supreme Court, as an "avaricious mountebank"?
>
> MR. MCCAMANT: I am unable, Senator Johnson, to recall the language I used. I did deliver a political speech in Seattle, on Lincoln's Birthday, 1916, in which I criticized the appointment.
>
> SENATOR WALSH: What was, in general, the nature of the criticism that you did make of Justice Brandeis?
>
> MR. MCCAMANT: I was dissatisfied, Senator Walsh, with the manner in which the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy had been carried on. It had seemed to me that Judge Brandeis, in his representation of Louis R. Glavis, particularly in that litigation, had gone beyond the point of fairness in his treatment of Mr. Ballinger, and the audience before whom I was speaking in Seattle was made up of friends and neighbors of Secretary Ballinger, and I had something to say along that line as I recollect it.

Not only Justice Brandeis, but Theodore Roosevelt fell short of Mr. McCamant's ideal of a good public servant: Mr. McCamant read from a letter he had written to a friend in 1920 declaring of Senator Hiram Johnson: "He is an advocate of the recall of judicial decisions. This means that he does not believe in the form of constitutional government which has come down to us from the fathers. In other words, he is not an American."

> SENATOR JOHNSON: Theodore Roosevelt was not an American then?
>
> MR. MCCAMANT: He was not a good American.
>
> SENATOR JOHNSON: He was not a good American. I stand on this man's statement. If any man can be confirmed in the Senate for judge when he says Theodore Roosevelt was not a good American, I will want to know why.
>
> SENATOR CARAWAY: I suppose the Colonel's son, Quentin, who died in France for his country, was also un-American?
>
> MR. MCCAMANT: I have never heard that he declared for the recall of judicial decisions.

As the hearing proceeded, Mr. McCamant finally became conscious of the astonishment of the Senators and he came back to the subject of Theodore Roosevelt a few moments later:

> MR. MCCAMANT: I was an admirer of Mr. Roosevelt during the greater part of his career, and his record during the World War won my admiration. But I have been unable to admire any man as a good American who stands for recall of judicial decisions.

This statement brought so much criticism among Senators privately and so endangered the chances of confirmation that the next day Mr. McCamant made another explanation, saying he had been in sympathy with Roosevelt's efforts to clean up the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

land office procedure in Oregon, and that all he intended to imply was that the recall of judicial decisions was subversive of the Constitution and an un-American doctrine.

Seeing that such perfection was demanded of others, one would expect Mr. McCamant to have conducted himself as a super-paragon of civic virtue. Yet two incidents in his own personal record have been questioned by some of the Senators on the judiciary committee. Most significant of the man's mental operations perhaps is his explanation of his conduct during the 1920 Presidential campaign when he was chosen a delegate-at-large from Oregon to the Republican national convention at Chicago.

Before the Oregon Presidential primary, McCamant bought for $50 a page in the official voters' pamphlet in which the candidates set forth their platforms and which was distributed to all registered voters in the state. Mr. McCamant, preparing his autobiographical sketch, included this statement:

> I have avoided committing myself to any candidate for President in order that I might be in a better position to support the candidate who wins out at the Oregon primary.

Senator Hiram Johnson won in the Oregon primary but Mr. McCamant went to the Chicago convention and supported Leonard Wood on all ballots. The Senators questioned Mr. McCamant in their effort to decide whether, as Johnson had charged, he had broken faith with the Oregon voters in disregarding the preference expressed at the primary:

> MR. MCCAMANT: This statement does not contain the words "I agree," "I promise," "I commit myself," or any other language which usually makes up a pledge as to what a man will do. I call your attention furthermore to the fact that the tense is present perfect. It is not present and it is not future. "I have avoided."

Mr. McCamant produced affidavits and read from letters to show that he had privately told a number of persons, including Senator Johnson's manager, that under no circumstances would he support Johnson if elected delegate. But Johnson insisted that Mr. McCamant had never made such a declaration publicly prior to the primaries and therefore the voters did not know he had a mental reservation in making his statement in the voters' pamphlet. McCamant admitted he had been unable to produce newspaper clippings showing any public declaration against Johnson before the primary.

> SENATOR CARAWAY: Why did you not say to them [the voters] "I will support any candidate but Senator Johnson?"
>
> MR. MCCAMANT: I did not think it was necessary to qualify it after the notice I had served on Senator Johnson's manager. . . . . The statement did not amount to a commitment. It did not state what I intended to do.
>
> SENATOR CARAWAY: If it did not state what you intended to do, it was not quite frank, was it?
>
> MR. MCCAMANT: I think it was.

So far as the Senate Committee discovered, Mr. McCamant's greatest public benefaction was the Pacific Spruce Corporation deal. A few days after the feat of nominating Coolidge single-handed against the Senatorial cabal had been accomplished, a Pacific coast promoter approached Mr. McCamant and asked him to become counsel, director and stockholder in the Pacific Spruce Corporation which had been organized to take over the property of the government war-time spruce production corporation in Lincoln County, Oregon. The government desired to liquidate this valuable property, in which $3,000,000 had been invested in equipment, not to mention the value of the timber rights.

So Mr. McCamant, guided by the preliminary proposal of his promoter and the government agents anxious for liquidation, prepared a contract which at any rate relieved the government of some of its responsibilities. The price agreed on was $2,000,000 with $50,000 down, the unpaid balance to be met within ten years, bearing 2 per cent interest. The title—and this is the remarkable feature of the deal—was to remain in the hands of the government during the ten-year period. This meant that the property was to be tax-free during that time—an annual saving to the McCamant company of $45,000 or more.

Incensed at this loss of revenue, the taxpayers of the county have appealed to the government for compensation and bills providing this are pending in Congress. Senator Stanfield, Oregon Republican, made a report on this bill from the committee on claims in which he declared: "If it be true that the tax-exempt feature was discussed and considered by both the vendor and the vendee in this contract, then this contract is the culmination of a reprehensible conspiracy on the part of the parties thereto against Lincoln County."

Mr. McCamant insisted that at the time the contract was negotiated it was not certain that the contract would make the property tax-free and furthermore that in subsequent litigation to determine this point, his law firm had no part. There was no disposition among the Senators to question the legality of the transactions. When Senators suggested it was a severe blow to the county to deprive it of such a large proportion of its taxes, Mr. McCamant thought that this had been offset by the business the company had brought into the county. However, the company brought into the county not only business but a large number of Oriental laborers who were driven out of the settlement by a mob of indignant residents. The Orientals brought damage

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suits against those known to have been in the mob, these suits having been filed last summer by the law firm of which McCamant was a member until he qualified for the judgeship under the recess appointment.

Even though Mr. McCamant is a personal choice of the President, it is not probable that the Senate will confirm him in the light of the whole record. Yet the President has said he will insist upon confirmation. Mr. Coolidge has made this statement even in the face of his experience with the Cabinet nomination of Charles Beecher Warren last March.

Mr. McCamant took luncheon with the President a few days after his appearance before the Senate Committee, which to Washington is equivalent to a statement from the White House saying: "I believe in this man and expect every Republican Senator to do his duty." But Mr. Warren was taken in to live at the White House while his nomination was pending. And even that was not enough.

RAYMOND CLAPPER.

In Passaic

AS this article is being written, 11,000 workers are on strike in Passaic, N. J. The strikers sing and laugh as they picket the mills. They laugh when they are arrested and again when they are released from jail. They laugh and jeer at the horses of the mounted police used to tread them down. They even laugh a little when in pneumonia weather icy streams of water are directed against them, and when the police in an orgy of rioting club them right and left, and make their sensational attacks upon bystanders and newspaper and cameramen. The sixth week of the strike is ending, over a thousand applications for relief have come into strike headquarters, and yet the workers laugh their defiance and insist upon their constitutional right to picket peaceably, and to sing as they march past the mills. In their desperation, the authorities of Passaic have passed a blanket ordinance against "disorderly conduct," which includes among its prohibitions, singing in the streets without a permit. A seventeen-year-old lad was sentenced to thirty days in jail for violating this ordinance, for singing "Hail, hail, the gang's all here." But the singing goes on just the same.

In their homes perhaps they do not sing. Here for long years a textile population of over 20,000 has been struggling for a living far below subsistence level. Grown men in Passaic, skilled workers, fathers of families, are earning $22, $25, $28 per week. A file of 100 applications for strike relief taken at random, showed only two workers who had received as high as $35 per week. The other wages clustered between $11 and $22.50. Four children, six children, nine children, a wife, and perhaps old parents too, must exist on this incredible wage. This of course they cannot do, so the mills claim the mothers also, together with their children as soon as the law permits. Hundreds of these mothers whose children are of tender age work on the night shift, in order to be with their families by day. Three years ago, enlightened New Jersey citizens managed after years of effort to pass a law forbidding this discredited industrial practice, an abomination so antiquated that it had been forbidden in England since 1844, repudiated by the civilized world since 1906, at the Berne conference, and even condemned by decisions of our own Supreme Court. This New Jersey law, passed in 1923, is not operating, however. The manufacturers, four of them members of the Industrial Council of Wool Manufacturers of Passaic, have secured a restraining order, claiming that the law is unconstitutional.

These wool manufacturers are powerful. They have been intrenched there for decades. Passaic with the neighboring towns of Clifton and Garfield is the second largest wool manufacturing centre in the country. Its Botany mill, employing nearly 6,000 people and occupying 111 acres, is the second largest worsted mill under one roof in the world. The owners of these Passaic mills are Germans; they compete with the American Woolen Company, although they follow certain of its practices. They came to this country from Germany partly to escape interfering social legislation, and they have consistently and successfully resisted all attempts of their workers to unionize or materially to better their conditions. Readers of the New Republic will remember the system of industrial espionage practiced by these mill owners as a means of combating unionism, brought to light six years ago by Alice Barrows of the United States Bureau of Education. This system of espionage still persists, the attitude of the mill owners towards unionism remains unchanged. The Botany mill, on January 24 last, threw out the leaders who were attempting to organize the workers following the wage cut last fall of 10 percent. Thereupon almost the entire plant walked out.

The very appearance of this giant mill affords evidence of its labor policy. Surrounded by a brick wall, some fifteen feet high, pierced by massive iron gates, the plant resembles nothing so much as a mediæval fortress. It is laid out principally in great sheds, hundreds of feet long, one story high, lighted only by skylights, and jammed to capacity with heavy machines whose combined noise is deafening. It is conspicuously lacking in anything that might contribute to the health or efficiency of its workers. Accommodations as elementary as dressing rooms,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lunch rooms, rest rooms, even adequate washing facilities are nowhere to be found. Workers, men and women alike, must dress and eat as best they may near their machines.

Sporadically the workers revolt. They are foreign born, predominately Polish, non-English speaking, many illiterate. Efforts to educate them, to teach them English in evening classes in public schools, Alice Barrows reported were nullified by the "atmosphere of distrust" created by the system of mill espionage. The workers therefore are not very articulate as to their grievances, not very certain of the means of remedying them. But now and then in desperation they leave their machines. This happened in 1912, again in 1919 and again, six weeks ago. When they revolt, there is an attempt at organization, some kind of union is usually effected, it functions for a time, but presently it perishes. Nearly every type of textile union has been tried in Passaic at one time or another, the I. W. W., the Workers' International Union, the United Textile Workers (the A. F. of L. union), the Amalgamated Textile Workers. The Amalgamated was there longest, starting with the big strike of 1919 and lasting for nearly three years.

The organization in control of the present strike calls itself the United Front Committee. Its object is to amalgamate all the divers textile unions into one industrial union, "to present a united front with all trade unions that wish to fight wage cuts, speeding up, longer hours, and other brutal demands of the bosses." It is led by Albert Weisbord, recent graduate of Harvard Law School, who himself was once a textile worker. Whatever Mr. Weisbord's sympathies may be, his conduct of the strike is entirely circumspect and moderate. There is no communist propaganda, no radical speechmaking at strikers' meetings. The Textile Strike Bulletin is as innocent as one of Police Chief Kober's tear bombs. Its first issue, dated February 24, gives straight news of the strike and prints the workers' demands. These are: a 10 percent increase over the old wage scale, return of money taken from them by wage cut, time and half for overtime, a forty-four-hour week, decent, sanitary working conditions, no discrimination against union workers, recognition of the union, including the principle of collective bargaining.

Moderate demands surely from a sweated industry. It is reported that the Councilmen of Garfield publicly stated that they believed these demands amply justified, and the Daily News of Passaic has presented the strikers' case with fairness and sympathy. In Garfield, this friendliness to the strikers extends to the police, who stand peaceably by and permit picketing, and even boo-ing of scab workers as they enter the mills.

The scab workers are not numerous, for the walkout is fairly complete. Last Wednesday, one of the larger mills opened its gates for all who wished to return to their machines, but the call went unheeded. The savage activities of the police have stiffened the resolution of the strikers. Visits to their homes reveal their temper.

They live in tenement hutches better than those on New York's East Side, but still unfit for human residence. Those who are still more submerged occupy company houses, which are unbelievably wretched. In one fetid dwelling we found Mrs. D., a widow with four children under ten, and aged ailing parents in addition, to support. Before the strike she had been earning the magnificent sum of $16. Now she was on strike rations averaging $9 per week. She stood in the middle of her squalid room, holding her two year old baby in her arms. To her skirts clung an older child with sickly face and the staring eyes of hunger. Mrs. D. was asked if she wanted to go back to the mills. "Not till evr'body goes," she said. "I never be, what you call it, a scab!"

They have need of spirit, these workers, for the struggle may lengthen and become increasingly bitter. They have need also of more than spirit, the help of the more experienced unions. Many locals in allied trades are generous in their contributions to strike relief, and a New York City woman's committee has been organized to raise funds. A citizens' committee, headed by Rabbi Wise, is offering to represent the strikers in conference with the mill owners, who refuse to treat with the United Front Committee. But short of relief, the regularly organized unions are refraining from direct action in the field. Efforts to enlist the organizing help of the American Federation of Labor have hitherto been unsuccessful. The American Federation of Labor has always been timid about organizing the textile industry. Of the million workers, fewer than 60,000 are in textile unions of any kind. The vast number of the unorganized are a millstone around the neck of industrial progress, and of social progress everywhere. The present strike in Passaic is a case in point.

AGNES DE LIMA.

Sonnet In Vain

Not sick, nor bent on self-destruction either,
I can not sleep for thinking I must die—
The proud warm substance of the body wither,
Turn humble-cold, and I no more be I.
Hot cruelty, sick love, and lonely sleep,
These are not much to live for, nor this murk
So permeate with fire and air to keep
The heart assiduous at its crimson work.
But the doom's wonder of the heavy slow
Swing of the turning world around the sun
Is no mean force that easily lets go,
No paltry fare that hunger gnaws upon.
—Son of a rich intolerable swarm,
Profusion-bred, to die, O Rolfe, stay warm!

ROLFE HUMPHRIES.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Babygrand Old Party

IT was the fourth of March, and that educated newsdealer, Elmer Durkin, was celebrating the administration's birthday with informal and insulting remarks to old Doctor Horner, Wappington's most determined Democrat. The doctor's party, Elmer charged, was a false alarm, also a flop. He further alleged that it was unconscious both ways from the ears.

"I can remember," said Elmer, "when we had three major league parties in this country; now we have just half that many. The Grand Old Party and the Babygrand. Two years ago the Democrats were reading the riot act all over the place; now they're not reading anything but the book of etiquette."

"A lot of water has run under the bridge since the oil revelations."

"And a lot of Democrats," said Elmer, "have run under the icebox. Can't they ever throw a ruckus any more except in the bosom of the family? Did they shoot the whole works at Madison Square Garden?

"I didn't expect this act to be a wow exactly after what happened last election, but I never had a hunch it would be quite such a washout. They're all wet, Doctor. They've been drowned out by the steam Callyope. The only way they could crash the gate into the big show was to carry water to the elephant. They're a flock of dittos and yesmen and attaboys."

"Where does it seem to be hurting you the most?" asked the sympathetic physician.

"It's this tax bill that gives me the croup. The last time Andy Mellon tried to play butter and egg man to the upper brackets the Democrats gave him a smack in the beezer and knocked him for a set of loops. This year he trotted out a bill that made a sugar papa look like a tightwad. Did your little playmates scratch and yowl and bite holes in the scenery? They did not. They only warbled, 'Yes, sir, that's my baby.' They said we mustn't crab their act. It wouldn't be clubby to cramp their style like that. I ask you, Doc, is that any way to sidestep the grim reaper?"

"You're not fair, Elmer. They couldn't help themselves. They're a hopeless minority."

"So is the Al in Albany. But what is his comeback when those upstatesmen try to high-hat him? ''Xcuset, please'? None whatever. The best news they hear from Al is a sock in the chin. Every time they open their trap they get it all full of knuckles.

"No, that's not the answer, Doc—all that runs for Sweeney. Being a minority is nothing new to a Democrat, but he used to wear a cauliflower ear as if it was a medal. Now he's got no more fight in his system than Jack Dempsey. All you can get out of him is 'What fork would you use if invited to a White House sausagefest?'

"All the time Congress was trying to bring a little sunshine into the lives of the hundred neediest millionaires, the jolly old ultimate consumer was getting his just north of the collarbone. Did the Democrats raise any squawk for this poor old skate? Not that I heard. What position did they take on the tariff? Horizontal, with their dogs pointing toward the roof. They just laid down and played dead like Benito's trained ginnies.

"Where were those bench-warmers during the coal strike with everybody froze up and busted and C. C. doing nothing whatever per week? There was a swell chance for them to sink the harpoon into the White House spokesman and give those G. O. P.'s the bum's rush. Well, they leaned their towering intellects together for eight or eleven months and when they came out of the ether it was too late. Now the simps are pinning hollyhocks on Calvin for the masterly way he twiddled his thumbs.

"Those die-easies of yours wouldn't even vote to have the Senate poke its old beak into Mellon's aluminum trust. When it came to a showdown three or four noble Jeffersonians rolled under the bureau like a collar button and the whole thing went blooey."

"I guess there wasn't anything wrong in that aluminum business, anyway."

"Maybe not, but how come they clapped on the silencer so quick? It listens like moral turp to me. Of course I don't know any more about it than you do—or even Attorney General Sargent. Everything is blotto.

"Now they try to make out that the petting party is all over. The worm has done a turn and the camel's back is busted. What are they going to fight and bleed about? The Italian debt settlement. Wouldn't you know it! After booting all those good chances they go and pick a raspberry like that. What does it mean in our young life how much those wops sign up for? We'll only get rubber checks anyhow.

"No, no, Doctor. There's no kick in a barrel of that hop. That won't pry Cal loose from his meal ticket. He'll do a Brodie some day, of course. The dope is that he is skidding a little now and that's all jake by me, but it's a pipe he won't be pushed off by those Democrats. What's the use of an opposition party that won't opp? They don't answer. Jiggle the hook and get your nickel back."

The old physician was inclined to be philosophical about the matter.

"As a doctor and a Democrat, I have seen a lot of suffering in my time," he said. "Much as I hate to agree with you on any subject there is possibly something in what you say. But somehow these Democratic funerals never come off as advertised. There's life in the old dog yet. It'll wake up some day."

"So did Rip Van Winkle," said Elmer, "but he couldn't scare up enough sidekicks for a game of pinochle."

FELIX RAY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

AMAZING as it may seem, the present session of Congress appears certain to end without the promised debunking of the Coolidge administration. With the refusal of the Senate to pass the Walsh Aluminum resolution the door to all effective investigation at this session was definitely closed. If they would not pass that, clearly they will not pass anything. The hollow humbuggery of the Coolidge economy claims, recently exposed by Senator King of Utah—one of the real men in the Senate—and the revelations by Senator Couzens as to irregularities and favoritism of the grossest sort in the Internal Revenue Department have both failed to register. The idea so hopefully held by leading Republicans as well as Democrats in the Senate, that by the time the session was over Mr. Coolidge would have begun to slip and a lot of the shine been rubbed off his prestige, turns out to be unfounded. The truth is, with the character and volume of press support behind him and the whole corps of Washington correspondents eating out of his hand twice a week regularly, there is no way for even such really unanswerable stuff as developed by Couzens, Norris, King and Walsh to get fully home to the people. The facts simply fail in transmission. Nor is the disintegration of the so-called opposition party in the Senate into a lot of broken fragments a helpful thing to the exposers of bunk. No, sir; nothing so far at this session has done Mr. Coolidge any harm. I am afraid the hopeful statesmen of his own party here who are so secretly desirous of seeing him slide will have to wait a bit longer. His luck hasn't even begun to run low.

A few weeks ago I made in this place certain remarks concerning the homecoming from his Asiatic and African hunting trip of Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., who it will be recalled ran unsuccessfully as Republican candidate for Governor of New York in 1924. He has now landed, and subsequent information confirms the predictions I then made. I still feel that Teddy presents a pretty problem to the New York Republican leaders, the more important of whom are here in Washington; that most of these wish he had stayed in Africa and that some would not have wept if a lion had bit a big and vital piece out of the gallant young Colonel. As one newspaper expressed it, he arrived in New York, talking about his trip like Marco Polo and making it particularly clear that he proposes to reënter public life at the earliest opportunity. In what capacity it was not divulged; but plainly, something must be done for Teddy. If they do not renominate him for Governor—and believe me, they do not intend to do that—they must get him something that will satisfy him. Which isn't so easy as you might think.

The remarkable devotion to principle of those two eloquent Senatorial knights, Borah and Reed, which impelled them after the World Court defeat dramatically to journey out to Chicago and on up to Wisconsin in an effort to insure the defeat of Senators McKinley and Lenroot—both of whom were already in trouble up to their double chins—may impress some of their admirers as a courageous and inspiring course but it leaves me cold. As a usual thing I count myself among the Reed and Borah admirers. That is to say, compared with the rest of the party Senators: they seem to me relatively unafraid and uninclined toward humbug. I cannot say, however, that their speeches either during the World Court fight or the tax debate increased my admiration. As for their onslaught upon McKinley and Lenroot instead of proving their courage it seems to me to cast doubt both upon that quality and their sincerity.

If they really burn with this inner fire and are implacably determined to raise their voices against the return to the Senate of those who by their votes aided in perpetrating what they consider one of the worst crimes in history, let them go into Pennsylvania and kick the pious Pepper around a little and then go up to Massachusetts and assail jolly Billy Butler, the happy-hearted friend and adviser of the President. These are shining marks, and ought to be the real targets for the heavy firing with which Borah and Reed tell us they propose to enliven the fall campaign. It was the pious Pepper, it will be recalled, who scuttled his own Court plan, submerged his own judgment and convictions in the matter to the desire of Mr. Coolidge, smothered his hostility—in short, played the rôle of deserter. It would be reasonable to assume that Messrs. Borah and Reed would desire more keenly to defeat him than Senators who merely followed their party and had no particular previous position to abandon.

As for Senator Butler, if the avenging Senatorial furies are as fearless and sincere as they would have us believe, they should lose no time in levelling a blow at the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Because after all it is the noble Calvin who is primarily and principally responsible for our adhesion to the Court and in no way can that great man, serenely riding the popular tide, be hurt more than by the repudiation this fall in his own state of his particular and personal friend. There is certainly every reason for Borah and Reed, if they intend as they say to continue the battle to the bitter end, to concentrate with particular earnestness and force upon Pepper and Butler. Yet I predict they will do nothing of the sort. I predict that Borah will make no speech against Pepper and that neither one of them will go into Massachusetts. It is all right to kick poor old McKinley and place themselves in position to be in at his death, but to interfere with the Mellon program in Pennsylvania and take the field against Mr. Coolidge's special friend in Massachusetts—that is a different story.

By the time the summer rolls around the fire that now consumes these two blazing boys will be all wet. Personally the only thing I think Reed, who is the more poisonous of the two, can accomplish is the defeat of his own party candidate in his own state of Missouri—the Hon. Harry Hawes. Hawes as a member of Congress voted for the World Court resolution in the House last session. He did not have to do it, but he did. He is now a candidate for the Senate and Reed is supporting him. His Republican opponent voted in the Senate with Reed against the Court. Unquestionably Reed has succeeded in stirring up a real anti-Court sentiment in Missouri and poor Hawes I am told is suffering like the devil. Reed's course beyond

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doubt aids the enemy and how he is going to support Hawes effectively under the circumstances baffles my powers of understanding. About the only hope I see for Hawes, who is about the pick of the Missouri Congressmen, is so to manœuvre as to make the wet issue overshadow everything else. It is a ridiculous situation.

The real truth is that Borah and Reed, in entering into this compact to wage war upon all Senatorial candidates who favored the World Court, started something entirely beyond their power to finish. As a result neither one will enhance his reputation.

T. R. B.

Washington.

Knowing and Feeling

ART is a *statement of something* as it appears to *some* persons or group of persons who are masters of a technique of expression. *Science* is *a statement of something* as it appears to *all* persons who are masters of a technique of expression. In order to look the same to *all* persons, a thing must be made of simple parts and be put together in an intelligible way. Therefore science is atomistic. But to look right to just some person or to a number of persons looking at the thing in one way, a thing need not be atomized. It can be taken as a whole, and therefore art is not atomistic. The product of science is an equation. The product of art is a picture."

In this statement, published in a recent paper, nothing is said about feeling or emotion although nothing is more generally believed than that art is peculiarly related to feeling. The definition that is here presented is made in terms of knowing, but what, it may be asked, has dancing to do with knowing? The answer can be found in experiment.

Let a person who is walking down the street begin to take notice of the movement of his legs. If he thinks of it as a one-one movement, he may have the impression of columns or blocks falling with successive thuds upon the pavement. Let him then begin to hum or whistle a march tune. At once the thing known begins to take on another character. The movements of the legs are connected in staccato series. They are serial points in the flux of the music, and to a certain extent they seem like concentrations of the music itself. They are somewhat like the whirlpools of ether that according to some physical theories constitute the solid actuality of matter. Of course, in this case the material fact of the music and the legs are distinguishable, but I am not now making reference to the elements but to the total fact of the march.

When the subject has noted the characters of the march, let him change his tune to a dance. It is assumed that the actual movements of the legs are the same whether the person is walking without paying any precise attention at all, whether he is noting the successive movements, or whether the march movements, or the dance movements. Stresses and movements, more or less pronounced, of the body undoubtedly enter, but even when these are minimized, the amalgam of tune and leg movements makes something quite different in the various instances that I have posited. When the tune is a dance, for instance, we shall find the successive steps to be as though there were a sliding line between them. Though the steps are relatively fixed elements in the swirl of sound movements, yet they differ from the steps of the march or the walk inasmuch as they are taken, not separately, but together in different ways.

It is fairly obvious that these different ways of taking the steps are different ways of knowing them, and that things can not be known as different unless there is an actual difference somewhere in the scene. Which means that beside the mere steps there is the known tune, the rhythmic setting, which is notably different in the various cases. These also enter into the known situation and are parts of it.

The familiar objection to this insistence on the cognitive side of things is that we do not *know* these things but that we feel them. We are obliged, therefore, to give some account of feeling. That we do feel these things is undoubted. The question is how feelings are related to knowing.

In ordinary speech we habitually use the term feeling for cognition of what is vague. An uncertain sound is felt rather than heard; a thing perceived in the dusk or in a fog is felt rather than seen. As soon as we get the object clear we cease to talk about the feelings, and speak in terms of perceptions. If a certain field is entirely unperceived, it is also unfelt. If in a dense fog we suddenly bump into a tree, it is because we have neither "seen" nor "felt" it, whereas if we had "felt" its presence even without "seeing" it, we would have gone around it. Feelings are, in fact, the perceived background and environment of adjustments, and it is indifferent whether these are inside or outside the body. The more definitely objects are perceived, the more definitely that one, in the act of adjustment, gets a clear perception of the objects involved in it, the less need there is of vaguely perceived elements, and consequently the less there is of feelings.

This is the position toward which science clearly aims in its desire to get statements that are true for every one, and in every posture. But art is a statement of things as they appear to some one. Some one is concerned with things as *he* sees them. It is permissible to him to retain more vagueness, more of feeling, since he is responsible only to himself. But in fact with greater clearness and greater objectivity, expression becomes more perfect. The artist habitually tries to turn vague feeling into clear perception, and the intelligent spectator tries to do the like. Feelings are then reduced to those of acceptance or rejection, pleasure and pain as they used to be called, and so the maximum of perception intensity is attained.

Music, which is regarded as peculiarly the domain of feeling among the arts, may be analyzed to illustrate what has been said. Music is movement, and movement when it excites interest brings about the most decided reactions. Sound as compared with sight is vaguely localized. The behaviorist, J. B. Watson, finds that babies show the fear reaction especially in two cases, when there is lack of support, and when there is a sudden noise. It is probable that the two cases are related, because in both there is a startling event, and lack of something to hold to. Since sound gives less of definite localized fixation than sight, it follows naturally that in listening to music there is a more diffused interest than in attending to a play. In fact most people

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the theatre do attend to the play far more exclusively than they attend to the music at a concert. Hence music is naturally an accompaniment to many forms of activity. It gives increased intensity to thought and action, increasing intensity at the cost of clearness. The tones themselves may be clear, the music in itself may be clearly perceived, but the whole present field of interest is not exhausted by what is perceived within the "frame." This is indeed true to some extent of *all* art, and directly contradicts one of the most familiar truths of æsthetics, the "truth," to wit, that only what lies within the frame counts for the picture. It is only when we realize the function of that which lies outside the frame that æsthetic experience becomes intelligent.

A word should, perhaps, be added on feeling or emotion as the causes of action. Because he is in love with a woman, a man may write a history of the Punjab, or traverse Darkest Africa, or get drunk, or write a poem. The woman is the occasion, the emotion is the felt disturbance, and the act is the consequence. Emotion of this sort has nothing specially to do with æsthetics. The characteristic of feeling in relation to æsthetics is its diffusion into the field of subject matter. Vague statements of the kind that mix up impulse, desire, emotion, and feeling in every sense of that much over-burdened word, are common in talk on art, but they do not help to explain anything.

LEO STEIN.

The International Theatre Exposition

THEATRE ARTS MONTHLY is the only source to which readers in English can go for journalistic records of what appears somewhat suddenly and to many people dazzlingly in the new theatre exposition at Steinway Hall, shown under the auspices of the Neighborhood Playhouse, the Theatre Guild, The Provincetown Playhouse, the Greenwich Village Theatre. Of these hundreds of examples of modern theatre production Theatre Arts has already presented many of the most important, from 1920 until now. Grunewald's settings for the opera at Stockholm, Picasso's Parade and Tricorne, Strnad's Ring Theatre, Strohbach's Massemensch, René Fuerst's Emperor Jones for the Odèon production, Rabinowitch's Lysistrata; designs from Meierhold, Jean Victor Hugo, Cocteau; the Kamerny set for the Man Who Was Thursday, for Phèdre and Salomé, and many other foreign designs, as well as all the important American, to be seen at Steinway Hall, have been published in this magazine and may be studied in its files.

Otherwise any attempt to present these designs to readers can come to little; their only adequate record is visual; there is not much to say of them except as to the range and selection and the theories involved—of general theatrical æsthetics and of the artists behind the various works and movements and schools, some of which matter is given in the catalogue and some promised in the next issue of The Little Review.

In the hundreds of showings at Steinway Hall what are to be regarded it seems as the foremost artists of America, Sweden, Italy, Spain, England, France, Russia, Poland, Germany, Austria and four or five countries more are represented. There are Meierhold, deriving from Stanislavsky's theatre in Moscow, a famous revolutionary, director of four theatres; Tairoff of "the synthetic three-dimensional theatre," the Kamerny, in Moscow; Kiesler from Vienna, the inventor of the "Octophon," "Theatre-in-Space" and the "Endless Theatre with the Endless Stage"; Leger of Paris, famous Cubist painter; Picasso, famous as an eccentric designer for the theatre; Jean Victor Hugo; Rabinowitch, designer of the Lysistrata and Carmencita, lately shown here by the Moscow Musical Studio and winner of the first prize at the International Exposition in Paris; and many other foreign artists, together with the Americans, B. Aronson, Norman-Bel Geddes, Louis Lozowick, Frederick Jones, Lee Simonson, James Reynolds, Donald Oenslager and others, though Ernest de Weerth and his many designs for Reinhardt's European theatres is not represented and Robert Edmond Jones, whose fine exhibition is on tour, is present only in his designs for Skyscrapers, which are remarkable enough, but by no means indicate the unforgettable penetration of some of his Macbeth designs nor the superb distinction of his Birthday of the Infanta.

The most interesting and stimulating section of the exhibition is the Russian. And in the Russian are best exemplified two of the three most striking theories illustrated and forwarded by this whole enterprise. There we see admirable examples of the Constructivist theory, where all stage ornament and æsthetic design is abjured for the sake of useful and unifying movement and stage levels. There we see settings of the purely Cubistic theory. You could get nowhere, however, by trying to construct an underlying principle for the whole venture of this international exhibition of the theatre, since no point of view is represented, and since the designs and models range from the Penny Plain and Two Penny Colored of the Victorian English, on through conventional operatic settings, Picasso's ballets—badly shown in the exhibition—to stages of mechanical units, blocks, ladders, poles, cages, whatnots, and on to Kiesler's Endless Theatre, with its freedom from the ground, its tracks winding here and there, its moving stages on which every human spectacle is supposed to have a chance of adequate presentation. Among the finest designs are the Russian models for Racine's Phèdre and Oscar Wilde's Salomé. It must be observed that many of the foreign designs appear to better advantage pictorially than those of some of our American artists, but that in many cases the effect has the merits of a poster or a print rather than any theatrical connection or direct practical applicability. The most profound and significant design in the whole exhibition is Norman-Bel Geddes's Dante Model, with its scope and originality, its intense gradations, its magnificent and subtle variety, its soaring ascents and descents, its really grandiose emotion. The most poetic and poignant design in the exhibition is Mr. Geddes's model for the setting of a Biblical story, a little town like Nazareth, very subtle and gentle, beautiful, and quiet as the light of a star, and, speaking technically, marvelously a unit.

Americans are not accustomed to conversation about any ideas in particular, and they are very touchy and ill at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ease in argument or controversy of any kind. This is true for the most part among both artists and laymen; there are exceptions. The theories set forth by some of the leaders behind this theatrical exhibition will amuse, enrage, delight, stimulate and justify, according to the reader involved.

Are we to abandon simultaneous intellectual impression on the crowd? Yes, and replace it by impression on the nervous system of the crowd. * * * The most intellectual and the most brutal of men can undergo the same sensation, and need not be ashamed of doing so. The theatre of today must seek to develop along the lines indicated by this phenomenon.

Paris, according to M. André Salamon, can feel the satisfaction of having been the first to win the new artistic battle, a battle the prize of which is no longer a single combat, but—with the help of machinery, which was once the childish terror of the artist—the restoration of a lost splendor—Mr. Salamon being French.

Mr. Kiesler has a long and most suggestive—though by no means always final or convincing article—in which he denies from every angle the peep-show stage. The contemporary theatre, he says, calls for the vitality of life—for this the proscenium stage is not enough—the new spirit bursts the stage, resolving it into space to meet the demands of the action—the stage must be recreated so that the action may be seen unambiguously by all the spectators—one of the solutions is: the floor of the stage is raised and mounts gradually to a diagonal plane, the other parts changed and so on until the stage becomes a sort of four-sided funnel opening toward the audience and spatial distancing is achieved with clear cubic effect. This "space-stage" is not merely a priori space but also appears as space.

When we come to more abstract theorizing in and among these stage artists and their commentators, there is a good deal of nonsense, the kind of thing that artists chatter in Paris cafés, painting, as Rodin said of Whistler, more with their tongues than with their brushes. Words are given special meanings, if they mean anything at all, we hear for example that the greatness of people can be gauged by the absence of two elements, one of which is culture, the other of which I cannot quite make out from the text. We are asked, can objects see?

Meierhold is said to believe in Construction not Composition, as if any finality of usage did not achieve its body of arrangement, as if the use of parts did not relate them to a whole. He believes in Constructivism because it embodies movement belonging to our time; industry, machinery, science—as if all movement in machines, all motion, were not expressed in patterns eternal in human visual and emotional experience, and so on and so on, theories and verbal defenses.

But a great deal of theoretical babble and confusion and hot folly always accompanies any movement in art and has no doubt its uses, though any mind without holes in it can see the folly and specious reasoning. It is better to look at the works of art themselves; what is to be said they say, when they are any good. In the history of the modern theatre this exhibition is powerful, feebly self-conscious, scatter-brained, suggestive, prophetic and valuable.

STARK YOUNG.

The Bandwagon

BIG BUSINESS MAN SPEAKS PLAINLY

Ask General Coleman du Pont a question and you get definite and immediate results . . .

"If you were going to select a man to fill an executive job which paid fifty thousand dollars a year," I asked him, "what qualities would you look for?"

"Fitness," said the General.

—Interview in Liberty.

DOESN'T SCOWL AT ALL

Primo de Rivera, to me, is one of the most remarkable characters in history. He is not what we would generally picture as a dictator, because he is always smiling . . .

—The ex-Ambassador to Spain.

AMBITION

I would to God I had power to stand here without eating a bite or taking a drink or sleeping a wink until twelve o'clock on the fourth day of March, 1931.

—Senator Cole Blease.

RARE MALADY APPEARS IN FLORIDA

Tallahassee has never come in for the amount of publicity it merits. The city is what is sometimes known as "publicity shy."

—Florida News.

MIGHT TAKE THEM LITERALLY

A member of the National Security League opposed the reading of the Ten Commandments in the schools because, she said, this would play into the hands of the pacifists.

—New York Times.

TWO BIRDS WITH ONE STONE

I am unwilling to make a contribution of America's hard-earned dollars at such a stressful time as this to the type of government which Italy is now presenting to the world. . . . This great sum that we are giving Italy would erect post-office buildings all over the United States.

—Congressman Upshaw.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN FIRST

Provisional Instructions for the Control of Mobs by Chemical Warfare: Sprinkling of persistent gases previous to the attack will effectively deny areas and approaches. In serious disturbances, gases can be sprinkled on the mob from aeroplanes. . . . If possible, consideration should be given to women and children, so as to cause them no undue injuries.

—U. S. Army Handbook.

BULLETIN FROM THE HOLY OF HOLIES

Lafayette, Ind.—The Klanswomen of this city entertained the Knights of the K. K. K. and their families at their Klavern January 30. A six o'clock supper was served, after which. . . . . .came a band of fifteen women, all dressed in white, with blue sashes decorated with spoons.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Each lady had a kitchen implement with a kazoo hid within, and wonderful music was made.

—*The Fellowship Forum.*

LOCKJAW THE ONE BAR TO GREATNESS

If you can pass these tests you can develop a superb singing voice: Can you open your mouth wide enough to insert two fingers between your teeth? Can you swallow five times in succession? . . .

—*Perfect Voice Institute, Chicago.*

Reflections on Leaving New York

AT the Aquarium, a tropical booby-bird, imprisoned in a small tank, is shivering with cold.

Horses are slipping in downtown streets and cutting their knees on the ice.

The boys in the office of the Daily Graphic are hot on the trail of Earl Carroll's orgy; the boys in the office of the Herald-Tribune are hot on the trail of the Countess Cathcart.

Young lawyers in the District Attorney's office are forswearing the use of alcohol so that they can act as agents provocateurs in fashionable night clubs. Young lawyers in private firms are protecting the interests of the Consolidated Gas Company.

Young men in bond-selling houses are worrying for fear they have not enough self-confidence to sell bonds successfully.

Typists are looking forward to the moment when they can go to the water-cooler.

Gray snow, which matches the sky, is falling.

The students at New York University are trying to pretend that Washington Square is their campus.

At a ball in Webster Hall, the waiters are picking the pockets of a fat Greenwich Village bookshop-keeper in the costume of a pirate.

Young poets, who cannot afford to go to night clubs, are writing poems on the hollowness of the time.

The Brevoort and the Lafayette are being renovated in the style of the Pennsylvania Station lavatory.

The gray snow, as soon as it has fallen, rises from the ground in noxious exhalations, and people fall ill of tonsilitis, grippe, pneumonia, pleurisy, bronchitis, influenza and tuberculosis.

Clothing stores on Fourteenth Street are selling out their entire stock.

In the textile district, the textile workers are pumped in early in the morning, in and out at the lunch hour and out at the end of the day.

Furniture imprisoned in the Manhattan Storage Company by people who have gone abroad is running up enormous bills.

Women, waiting to use the telephone booths in Liggett's drug-stores, are buying banana-nut sundaes and listening to Ukulele Ike on the phonograph.

At the Grand Central Palace, there is a big Bath-Room Fixture Exhibition.

At the Algonquin, when a popular dramatic critic says, "I'm going to South America," an eminent humorist will reply, "Going in for the big Honduras contest?"

At the opera, they are working on the revival of a little-known opera by Meyerbeer.

Highbrow theatres are straining every nerve to discover another Michael Arlen.

People are waiting in line in the cold to see the new Gloria Swanson picture.

Popular actors in the West Fifties are endeavoring to seduce young actresses by showing them oil paintings of themselves; the young actresses are exacting contracts before they will consent to yield.

The hostesses and hosts of night clubs are working on wise-cracks, quaint accents and other naïvetés, for which they will make their guests pay cover charges.

On Madison Avenue, antique stores are selling pairs of china dogs for sixty-five dollars apiece.

On Park Avenue, above the Grand Central, people believe they are living with distinction, though at considerable expense.

On Lexington Avenue, people are wishing that they lived on a more cheerful street.

At the concerts of modern music, the ladies wear auburn sideboards and corpse-white toques.

At the concerts of the Philadelphia orchestra, Mr. Stokowski wears a dress-suit.

German theatrical men, with their mistresses, both shaped like well stuffed ottomans, are eating sandwiches at sandwich-palaces.

Prostitutes and detectives in collusion are framing victims in the upper Forties.

Smart book-stores on upper Fifth Avenue are selling handsome sets of standard authors in morocco bindings so tight that it is impossible to open the books.

Smart book-stores on the side streets in the Forties are selling first editions of Joseph Hergesheimer for seven dollars apiece.

The art galleries are lined in carpets, like Campbell's Funeral Church.

Bishop Manning has made public statements on the importance of Christian faith.

People suffering from exhaustion, despondency and acute self-dissatisfaction are being treated by expensive specialists for dental trouble, mastoiditis, astigmatism, inflammatory rheumatism, ophthalmic goitre and fallen arches, and finally turned over to psycho-analysts, who will frighten them into fits.

People coming home late at night in the upper East Eighties and Nineties are obliged to struggle with three Yale locks in order to get into apartments, which they will subsequently discover to have been robbed.

Corner drug-stores will supply bad gin to people they know well enough.

Students at Columbia University are electing courses in Russian, Collective Bargaining and the History of the Thought, Civilization and Political Development of Europe.

In Harlem, the whites are visiting the Negroes in the hope of finding among them a little color and warmth; and the Negroes are striving their hardest to learn to live like the whites.

EDMUND WILSON.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG.
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

Florida Madness

SIR: I read the recent editorial on Florida in the New Republic and have been thinking it over since. What struck me particularly was your opinion that the Florida migration is not pioneering of the old kind, but represents something unstable and undesirable in our general living arrangements. It is on this subject that I have been speculating, and my results are to this effect.

During most of the last century the tone and interests of American society were influenced greatly by rural conditions. Down until about 1880 the cities were not so potent in their influence as they have been since. Probably the city then was affected more by the farming areas of the East and South and by the frontier than they were affected by it. . . .

Now of course this condition is greatly altered. The significant change in the last fifty years isn't so much the numerical growth of the cities and the relative decline of the rural population. A more important change is that the present generation of city folk is largely city born and bred, and hence almost wholly cut off from the country. But even more significant is the spreading influence of the city over the rest of the country. The decades since 1880 have seen not only the closing of the public domain, but also the appearance of many of the inventions that have changed the relation between the large centres of population and the farming regions. These inventions, such as the movie, the radio, the automobile, the large printing press, the phonograph, have brought the city more to the farmer than they have brought the farm to the city resident. They are the agencies by which the city is extending its ideals and interests, its pastimes and fashions, throughout the country. . . .

If the city is affecting the country, so in turn is the city being formed under special influences—the influence of wealth in general and of money in particular. That influence on the city is certainly greater than it was on the nineteenth century farms. Everyone in the city uses money for nearly all his needs, whereas the farmer who raised his own food did not have to resort to it so frequently. . . . A successful business man may have the whole world as a field from which to draw his profits; the successful farmer is limited in his enterprises to the amount of land he cultivates. In the city, another thing helps to make everybody think in terms of money, and that is the force of advertising. The resident of a large city is always being urged to buy something or to compare goods as to their money values. If he reads his newspaper, or patronizes the street car, or walks down the street, or goes to the theatre, he finds that advertising, like the poor, is always with him, reiterating its selling slogans, until he becomes indoctrinated, at least in part, with its commercial ideals.

The large and ever-present supply of money in the city surely affects its activities and the aspirations of its society. Where so much store is put on acquiring money, equal emphasis is placed on the spending of it, since the one is necessary to the other. And that emphasis leads us to rely on purchases and profits for our contentment. There seems to be a sort of unconscious conspiracy among business men, advertisers and newspapers to put the seal of approval on any pastime that circulates money freely without damaging severely our capacities for future consumption. . . . Who hears the voices (if there are any) now raised against finery, luxury, and what is called soft living? Are not these the objectives of prosperity? The appeal of the moralist has been superseded by the appeal of the advertiser.

The emphasis on prosperity has helped to bring about the standardization of tastes and the uniformity of pursuits which critics of America so readily bewail. If we don't live as our neighbors live, isn't it a sign that we are less prosperous than they? . . . We judge success by our incomes, and know our neighbors' as well as they know ours. It is the necessity of appearing prosperous that compels us to conform. If we do not, we are counted as failures or part failures, and are accordingly looked down upon by our acquaintances.

Since the standard of our well being is the amount of money we spend, we part with our earnings readily, and so become more and more familiar with purchased enjoyments. Such enjoyments are naturally of a conventional kind, and our relying upon them does not transform our surplus energy into individual effort. If we use our money to while away the leisure hours, we simply hire someone else to amuse us, and submit to such treatment as is not actually painful. We make no contribution of our own, develop no capacities, and achieve nothing in the way of self-expression. . . . Being formal and impersonal, our amusement does not really satisfy us, and hence we do not like to work hard in order to secure it. We want to have it on easy terms. And thus we come to harbor a liking for soft living. For what is soft living but being supported and entertained by someone else? Part of the existing instability and discontent must come from the influence of prosperity on city life, and the urbanizing of the rural regions by the radio, the movie and the newspaper, all of them bringing the jazz, the sport, the auction bridge, the crime, the fashions, the Charlestons, and the commercial ideals of the city to elevate the small towns and the countryside.

Madison, Wis. CURTIS NETTELS.

Gutter Literature

SIR: I rub my eyes and take a second look. Can it be true that the New Republic recognizes the existence of "Gutter Literature" and condemns it? Surely my senses do not deceive me. Surely such an article appears in the issue of February 17, and it seems reasonable to assume that the New Republic condemns this type of literature, else it would either not have permitted the article to appear, or it would have added a facetious editorial note to the effect that the author (Mandeville) is poisoned with "so-called" Nordic ideals and "repressions" and is in all probability a member of the K K K!

I cannot recall within the past ten years an instance in which the New Republic has raised its voice against "Gutter Literature," although that type has filled the newsstands and bookstores ever since the War. A few years ago Mr. Sumner and others tried to suppress one of the vilest examples of this sort of filth, but I do not recall their getting any support from the New Republic. Indeed, if my memory serves me correctly, the New Republic not only did not assist the forces of decency in that and similar fights, but held up to ridicule those men and women who led the fight. Why this change? Has the New Republic "got religion?" Well, we hope it has, since it is better late than never!

One paragraph in Mr. Mandeville's article invites comment because it repeats a statement which has been made ad nauseam by the so-called "young intellectuals," but which historical research will doubtless establish as having originated with a moron; to wit, "Most of these journals of course . . . base their appeal on the fact that for the average man and even more for the average woman leading the common existence in this country, only partially literate, with limited financial resources, real life is a drab, dull and sordid affair."

It has never seemed to me, in traveling through Europe and America, that life to the "average man and woman" of the former was an unusually thrilling adventure, colorful and joyous, affording untold "outlets" for "repressions," nor that life in the latter country among those of a similar economic and social scale was particularly "drab, dull and sordid." In fact, in making a comparison, I should certainly have thought that the Americans had the better of it! At any rate people in America "only partially literate, with limited financial resources," travel around a bit, even if they must "ride the rails," while in Europe it is possible to find whole villages in which not a soul has been twenty miles away—nor their parents before them!

Besides, if life in America is so "drab" as compared with life in Europe, why do we have to make such drastic immigration laws and appropriate millions to put down the industry of "bootlegging aliens?" It would be economy and far more effective to establish

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a Bureau of Publicity to get out literature for those Europeans awaiting their turn on the immigration list, telling them just what kind of life awaits them in "drab, dull, sordid" America—a life so terrible that it has to be pepped up with "Gutter Literature."

Incidentally the existence of such literature as Mr. Mandeville describes answers in part the question, Why the K K K?

South Hillbrook, N. Y. ONE OF THE DESPISED NORDICS.

[The fact that the New Republic published Mr. Mandeville's article of course in no way implies that it has changed its attitude on censorship. His article revealed the facts as to gutter literature, but contained no plea for censorship, official or unofficial.

The article in question said nothing whatever as to whether life in America is more, or less, "drab, dull and sordid" than life in Europe. It referred solely to conditions in this country.—THE EDITORS.]

"H. W. M."

SIR: Dr. Laski's fine tribute to H. W. Massingham honors both writer and subject. As a journalist Mr. Massingham belonged neither to the old school which was too poor to keep a conscience, nor to the new American school which is too rich to keep one. The record of such an unbought and unpurchasable hero surely "redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man."

An incident which attests his devotion to principle, probably known only to the writer, seems worthy of preservation. At the time of the outbreak of the South African War Mr. Massingham was editor of the London Daily Chronicle. I was living in London and I conceived the idea that the threatened conflict might be averted if the conscience of England could be given a voice. To invoke that conscience and give it effective utterance I submitted a questionnaire to the leaders of public opinion in England and elsewhere. Immediately following England's ultimatum to the Boer Republic I received a letter from Dr. Abraham von Kuyper, Premier of Holland, in which he appealed to English Liberals not to permit the War party to precipitate hostilities and predicted dire results in the event of war. I took this letter to the Press Association and was told that they could not use it. It was 10 p. m. and I took it to the Daily Chronicle. Mr. Massingham personally came out and suggested that I ought to let the Press Association have it in order to insure the widest possible publicity. On being told that such a tender had been made and rejected, he said: "I am sorry—I can offer you only two guineas for its exclusive use." The letter of the Premier of Holland appeared exclusively in the Daily Chronicle the next morning and that day, or possibly the next, Mr. Massingham yielded his position as editor of the Chronicle to a Mr. Fisher. The simple facts speak for themselves and amply attest that he deliberately chose the nobler part—when did he ever do otherwise?—even at the sacrifice of his position as the editor of the most influential of the London Liberal dailies.

The writer betrays no confidence—for as the Grand Old Man would have said, the facts were "gross, open, palpable," when he states that the manager of the Press Association in London plainly informed him that there was no market whatever for any letters that deprecated or in any way opposed the war but that he would pay well for all letters that supported the war and justified it. Many prominent people took the position of Mrs. Humphrey Ward who protested that she was not sufficiently acquainted with the matters in controversy to form any opinion of value thereon. A member of the Friends' body said to me: "After we whip the Boers I intend to join a Peace society."

The most sensational of all the replies came from the Queen's rector at Windsor. He expressed himself at much length and in the most sanguinary terms. The divine hoped to see "Oom Paul swimming through seas of blood, psalm-singing at every belly stroke." This display of spiritual fervor, duly distributed by the Press Association, was received by many editors as a hoax and not published till ample assurances were given of its genuineness.

It is hardly necessary to add that the writer's conspiracy against the firm of Mars, Moloch and Mammon, was brilliantly unsuccessful. The demand for war was supported by practically all dailies in England with the exception of the Manchester Guardian, the Newcastle Chronicle and the London Star.

Mr. Massingham assuredly "obeyed the voice at eve obeyed at prime." In a letter written to me shortly before his death he alluded to the dangers threatening civilization in the following terms which reflect his characteristic profundity and humanity:

> My own feeling is that the civilization which is based solely upon predatory instincts and instincts which it fosters, legalizes and honors under fair-sounding names, not only is collapsing but must collapse. It must collapse because it is working against the spirit of life. It is collapsing, not so much because it is responsible for so much evil and misery but because it simply will not work. The policy of doing a thing not for the intrinsic value of the thing itself and of its common use and benefit when done, but for what you may get out of it carries the logic of its own disaster. For the work of the world which must be carried on, in order that the world may live is subordinated under this policy to the profitable results of that work. The emphasis is not on the work but its ulterior motive. Consequently the work must deteriorate and to such an extent that the wheels of civilization in the end refuse to go round. This is true not only to logic and abstract theory but to fact. It is what is actually happening today. Therefore your watchword, "The Abolition of Interest," seems to me not only of the first importance but actually the only salvation of society open to it.
>
> As for art, I think it can be left to take care of itself. If, that is to say, modern human society does come to realize that it is going straight to perdition and pulls itself together in consequence and sets to work for the common benefit and to supply the common necessities of its workers, art will follow as a natural course.

JOHN BASIL BARNHILL
Editor, Humanity First.

Canton, Pa.

The Pinchot Plan for Coal

SIR: In the editorial notes in your issue of February 3, pages 278-9, are two paragraphs criticizing the anthracite operators for the failure of Governor Pinchot's coal regulation program to win legislative approval.

You accuse the anthracite operators of "shocking bad faith" because the House committee on mines and mining took adverse action on the two bills advocated by the Governor. "Obviously," you say, "the operators and their allies control the Republican machine in the state and their control has led to the smothering of the bills without a fair discussion." At the hearing to which you refer, the Associated Press dispatches stated that no one appeared to support the bills. Therefore, if there was any smothering of discussion by the committee, it was opposition to the bills which was smothered.

I am aware, of course, that Mr. Pinchot claims that that hearing was held without fair notice. Whatever may or may not have been the misunderstanding as to the date when such a hearing should be held, there was no confusion as to when the hearings of February 2 would be held. Nevertheless, despite the advance publicity given those later hearings, not one of the 40,000,000 consumers whose plight so distresses the Governor appeared to hail his proposals as blessed. The Attorney General of the state, the State Secretary of Mines—both appointees of the Governor—and the legislative sponsor for the measures spoke, but apparently did not convince the committee that there was merit to the bills or public demand for their enactment.

The proposal to declare anthracite coal a public utility is, to say the least, dubious. Its constitutionality, in the face of the dicta in the Wolff Packing Co. case (United States Supreme Court), is open to question and the enactment of such a measure would certainly lead to a prolonged court action which would bring no relief to the public. Even waiving the question of legality, it is difficult to see how the consumer would benefit by such a law. The greatest complaint of the consumer has been against the cutting off of his supply of hard coal. These interruptions have been and still are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chargeable solely to strikes. The Pinchot program makes no provision for eliminating this source of stoppage of production.

You further charge that the operators are unwilling to permit debate on a bill that would treat anthracite as a public utility in the matter of price and valuation. You must, of course, be aware of the fact that the state of Pennsylvania is without power to fix prices in interstate transactions and that approximately 80 percent of the anthracite is consumed outside the borders of that state. The scheme to set up a series of interstate compacts has been so discredited by those who would be asked to join Pennsylvania in that venture that it seems superfluous.

It is unfortunate, but there seems little hope that the Pennsylvania state legislature will take any action freeing anthracite mining from the labor monopoly exercised by the United Mine Workers through the state mine certification law. I will not burden you, therefore, with academic argument. I am glad to note, however, that your suggestions of a "constructive" solution, recognizes that the union has been lacking in coöperation with mine management, that the union has encouraged limitation of output, that the union has not striven to eliminate waste in mining nor to improve quality and aid the operators in lowering the cost of production. Had the United Mine Workers been functioning in those directions anthracite probably would have been less in the public eye in the past three years.

SYDNEY A. HALE,
Contributing Editor, Coal Age.

New York, N. Y.

The Problem of Immortality

SIR: The recent utterance of Mr. Luther Burbank, in regard to his disbelief in immortality, has provoked an avalanche of denunciation of this venerable botanist. The critics seem to regard immortality as a well established fact. They also seem to find pleasure in showering epithets upon anyone who may express any doubt or uncertainty in regard to the probability of the continuation of life after death.

A calm, unbiased consideration of the evidences which have been presented must result in the conclusion that there is very little or no proof of the existence of immortality. A more rational view of the problem would seem to be that immortality is a hope rather than a fact or certainty.

Hope in immortality may be justified upon pragmatic grounds. If belief in eternal existence, with the possibility of meeting departed relatives or friends, makes life happier or more endurable such belief has its own justification.

On the other hand, the idea of the existence of life apart from the mechanism in which it is manifested may be a perplexing and baffling problem. To certain types of mind tne idea might well become a source of annoyance rather than a comfort.

If the ordinary individual accepts the idea of immortality upon the basis of the happiness which it brings to him, then it seems only just that he should grant the privilege of its rejection to others upon the same basis.

G. B. CLAYCOMB.

Lafayette, La.

Contributors

SISLEY HUDDLESTON is now Paris correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor.

P. G. AGNEW is secretary of the American Engineering Standards Committee.

RAYMOND CLAPPER is the Washington correspondent of the United News Association.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is one of the editors of the Measure.

AGNES DE LIMA, author of Our Enemy the Child, has made a study of night work by mothers in the Passaic textile mills for the National Consumers' League.

Show Them You're With Them

LABOR fights bravely today on two embattled fronts. You can help mightily in the struggle for decent American wages, hours and working conditions, if you act at once.

IN PASSAIC, New Jersey, the striking textile workers are standing up to the tear-bombs, riot-clubs and black-jacks of the police.

IN PENNSYLVANIA in the soft coal fields evicted miners are resisting the attempts of the operators to break their union.

In both cases there is pressing need for immediate relief for the workers' women and children.

They must have food, clothing and shelter and they must have them *now*.

The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (established jointly by the League for Industrial Democracy and the American Civil Liberties Union) will send every cent you give direct to those families where the need is greatest.

New Republic readers have never failed to respond to labor's call for help. The workers are waging a magnificent fight. Show them you are with them.

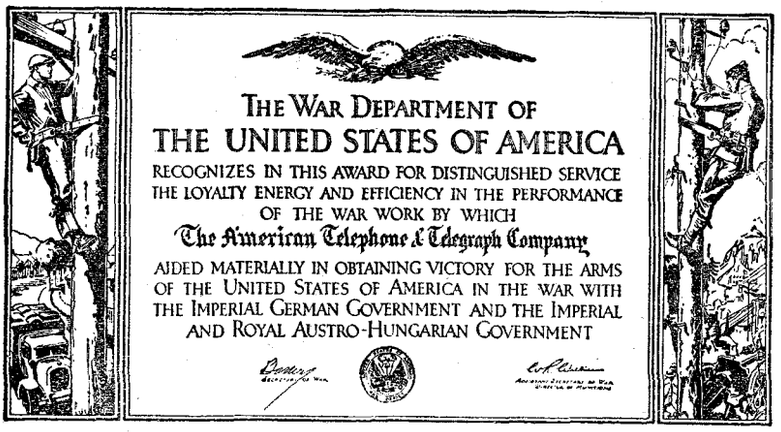
Send checks or money-orders today to

EVELYN PRESTON, *Treasurer,*

THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR STRIKERS' RELIEF

Room 635, 799 Broadway, New York City

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


THE WAR DEPARTMENT OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
RECOGNIZES IN THIS AWARD FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE
THE LOYALTY ENERGY AND EFFICIENCY IN THE PERFORMANCE
OF THE WAR WORK BY WHICH
The American Telephone & Telegraph Company
AIDED MATERIALLY IN OBTAINING VICTORY FOR THE ARMS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE WAR WITH
THE IMPERIAL GERMAN GOVERNMENT AND THE IMPERIAL
AND ROYAL AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT

Telephone Preparedness

NINE years ago, when this nation was preparing for war, it found the Bell Telephone System ready for service at home and abroad. The war found the Bell System prepared. From its technical forces so needful to meet our war-time activities in this country, fourteen battalions were organized to carry to the front the highest developments of the telephone art. No other nation had so complete a system of communication to aid in mobilizing its resources. No other nation was able to put into the field a military communication system of equal effectiveness.

Fifty years ago Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, gave to the world a new art. He had the vision of a nation-wide telephone system by which people near at hand and far apart could talk to one another as if face to face. He foresaw a usefulness for the telephone which could not be achieved without innumerable developments, inventions and improvements, to him unknown. But not even he foresaw the marvelous applications of telephony which gave to the American armies that fighting efficiency which is possible only when there is instant exchange of complete information.

Since the completion of its service in time of war, the Bell System has devoted itself to the extension of the telephone art as one of the great agencies for the development of the pursuits of peace.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

BELL SYSTEM

IN ITS SEMI-CENTENNIAL YEAR THE BELL SYSTEM LOOKS FORWARD TO CONTINUED PROGRESS IN TELEPHONE COMMUNICATION

THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE
466 Grand St. Telephone: Drydock 7516

Annuonces that beginning March 23, 1926, it will become the first theatre of the present day to maintain a permanent professional company in a repertoire of dramatic and lyric productions.

"THE DYBBUK" the current attraction continues thru March 11.

BEGINNING MARCH 16, FOR ONE WEEK—MAT. ON SATURDAY
A Triple Musical Bill Including:
A BURMESE PWE (with music by Henry Eichheim) A HAYDN OPERA-Bouffe
A CHINESE FANTASY (with music by A. Avshalamoff)

AFTER MARCH 23. FOR 5 WEEKS
"THE DYBBUK" TUESDAY EVE., WEDNESDAY MAT. WEDNESDAY & THURSDAY EVES.

The Triple Musical Bill FRIDAY EVE. & SATURDAY MAT. SATURDAY & SUNDAY EVES.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
Program March 19-25
At Cooper Union (8th St. and Astor Pl.) At 8 o'clock. Admission Free.

Friday, March 19—Everett Dean Martin: "The Meaning of a Liberal Education."
Sunday, March 21—Dr. Nathan Krass: "Trying to See the Other Side."
Tuesday, March 23—Dr. Floyd H. Allport: "The Psychology of Social Movements."

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL
(Lexington Ave. and 22nd St.)
At 8 oclock
Single Admission, TWENTY-FIVE CENTS. Reduction for Course Tickets.

Saturday, March 20—Houston Peterson: "The Dramas of Ibsen."
Monday, March 22—Mortimer J. Adler: "The Methods of Psychology."
Wednesday, March 24—Dr. Horace M. Kallen: "Why Religion?"
Thursday, March 25—Dr. E .G. Spaulding: "The Evolution of Ideas."

FREE ON REQUEST
The Anthropological Bulletin
Partial Contents of the Current Number

FRIGIDITY IN WOMAN. In Relation to Her Love Life. By Dr. Wilhelm Stekel.
XVIII. CENTURY FRENCH ROMANCES
ENCYCLOPAEDIA BIBLICA
ESOTERIC BOOKS OF THE EAST AND THEIR TRANSLATOR
BURTON'S SELECTED PAPERS ON ANTHROPOLOGY, TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION
TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO
HISTORIETTES OF TALLEMANT des REAUX
WHY WE BEHAVE LIKE HUMAN BEINGS
BEATRICE CENCI, The Beautiful Parricide
etc., etc., etc.

The Best New Books and the Latest Editions of Old Books, of interest to thoughtful readers, are reviewed and offered in the ANTHROPOLOGICAL BULLETIN.

Mailed, Postage Paid, for One Year to any Address in U. S. and Canada, upon receipt of 25 cents; Foreign Countries, 60 cents.

The American Anthropological Society, Inc.
45 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.
Agents for the Leading Publishers of America and England.
MENTION NEW REPUBLIC.

The Little Bear

Forty Six West Eighth St.
Dinner $1.25
Russian Balalaika Orchestra
Dancing Until Closing
CHARLES REED Spring 0884
Decorations by Romero

FOLDER proposing colonization among undeveloped natural resources, in British Columbia, along lines of Industrial Democracy, sent free by The Coöperative Club, P. O. Box 1248, San Francisco, Calif.

DEBATE: Resolved that the U. S. should not recognize Soviet Russia.
Affirmative: J. Robert O'Brien, National Security League.
Negative: Scott Nearing.
Chairman: Frank P. Walsh.
AT THE MANHATTAN OPERA HOUSE, 315 W. 34th St., N. Y. C.
SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 28TH, 2:30 o'clock
Auspices of New Masses.
Reserved Seats: $1.65, $1.10, 83c., 55c. On sale now Manhattan Opera House box office, Jimmie Higgins Book Store, 127 University Place. Mail Orders to New Masses, 39 W. Eighth Street. Telephone Reservations, Stuyvesant 2104.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New
REPUBLIC

Spring Literary Section

Colonel House's Papers

The Intimate Papers of Colonel House, Vol. I and II, Arranged as a Narrative, by Charles Seymour. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 979 pages. $10.

A GRASPING plutocracy at Washington is overthrown by a popular uprising—an armed rebellion led by a West Point graduate.

The head of the insurrection becomes a military dictator, sweeps away the Constitution with the scheme of checks and balances, and substitutes for it a system of responsible government.

A graduated income tax is established.

Corporations are compelled to share their earnings with the states and the national government.

Labor is given representation on the directing boards of corporations and saved from the abyss of poverty by old age insurance.

The banking trust is broken and credit is made as flexible as commercial assets.

A league of nations is formed on the basis of Anglo-Saxon solidarity.

Such was in brief the political and economic program for America set forth in a novel called Philip Dru: Administrator, published anonymously in the autumn of 1912 just after Armageddon. Col. Edward M. House was the author. Now he confesses to the fact and adds that while there are some things in the book which do not command his approval he still stands upon most of it as his "ethical and political faith." Had he published it over his own name in 1918 he might have got into prison under President Wilson's most effective sedition act.

What a strange contrast to the letter and spirit of this novel composed in 1911, are all the writings published by Colonel House's great chief, Woodrow Wilson, before his translation from Princeton to Trenton! Apart from his suggestive Congressional Government in which he assailed the committee system without proposing to overturn the tri-partite scheme of negation, Doctor Wilson's voluminous works written before he turned from polite letters to politics showed few signs of discontent with the prevailing system or its fruits. It is true that he attacked the tariff in the phraseology of the Southern planter who wanted to exchange cotton freely in England for manufactures, but with that exception, not savagely pressed, he seemed fairly content with the American program of use and wont until he entered the realm of practical affairs. He heartily disliked socialism and everything that savored of it. The whole direct government movement was to him anathema. Woman suffrage almost made him ill. In the year 1907 the writer of this review heard him condemn with more than academic warmth the popular election of United States Senators—then a "burning issue." Doctor Wilson likewise looked with no friendly eye upon the philosophy and practice of trade unionism. He opposed the advance of scientific education and scientific inquiry in the universities, partly on the ground that science could not combat socialism. To make a long story short Woodrow Wilson derived his religion from John Calvin, his economics from Adam Smith, and his politics from Edmund Burke. He passed his fiftieth year without ever revealing anything but repugnance for the radical forces that had been surging through literature and life since the age of Marx and Darwin. Then suddenly about 1912 he found the federal government dominated by "big business," as the socialists had always asserted, and proposed the wine of the "New Freedom" to restore the health of democracy. Was it extracted from Philip Dru's philosophy?

Certainly, no small part of Woodrow Wilson's strange career is now explained by the intimate papers of Colonel House made public under the editorship of Professor Charles Seymour. The Colonel, it appears, has presented his collection of political letters and documents to the Library of Yale University, and given Professor Seymour full power to select, comment and print. The two volumes before us open with a brief sketch of Colonel House's early life and close with passages relative to the declaration of war on Germany in April, 1917. The text consists mainly of extracts from primary materials woven into a running narrative by the editor—an admirable piece of book-making. Professor Seymour has performed his task with skill, tact and discrimination. A passion for fairness gives geniality to his pages and enlists the sympathy of his reader. Though there is evident the usual American sympathy for the English way of life and politics, though there are a few passages which lay it on the subject of the work "a bit thick," only a bitter critic would venture to say that Colonel House has not been fortunate in his editor. At least so things stand at this moment. What will happen when all the papers are before the public and when the Wilsonian view of the same scene is laid before us, no one can tell. No doubt these volumes will make a storm in the Wilson camp for in effect they portray House as furnishing the ideas and the drive for his partner's administration.

According to the record, House played a significant part

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in bringing Wilson and Bryan together for the grand rush of 1912. His letter of December 6, 1911 (I, 51) to Bryan, telling the Orator of the Platte about a lunch with Colonel Harvey, about the rage against Wilson in Wall Street, and about the particular virulence of J. P. Morgan is certainly the most delicious political masterpiece in the whole history of memorial literature from Moses through Juvenal and Cervantes to Carrie Nation. Colonel House concluded his appeal by asking Bryan whether he could "make any suggestions regarding the best way to meet the Wall Street attack" on Wilson. That was surely salt pork for the fresh-water captain of Nebraska. Beyond all question Colonel House helped Bryan to forgive Wilson for expressing the wish that the Commoner might be "once for all knocked into a cocked hat." The forty votes from Texas rounded up by House and his masterly negotiations counted heavily in the grand scrimmage at Baltimore from which Governor Wilson emerged triumphant.

And Wilson was elected. From that moment Colonel House was closely associated with him in picking members of his cabinet, in pushing administration measures through Congress, and in handling foreign affairs. No manometer yet devised can discover from these papers to what extent House was able to force issues upon Wilson, to what extent Wilson really sought advice, or just how much influence the Colonel's suggestions actually had in determining Presidential policies. It is evident, however, that Wilson often turned to House on his own motion. For example, on November 16, 1912, he telephoned to House for an appointment and discussed cabinet material with him (I, 89). When the Arabic was torpedoed the President wrote to House "demanding his advice" (II, 29). When Bernstorff asked for a suspended judgment, Wilson called for an opinion from his silent partner (II, 33). Similar instances are scattered through the pages. On the other hand, it appears that House himself suggested the tour of Europe in the interest of peace in the summer of 1914 (I, 239). The next trip, made to feel out the belligerents, also grew out of House's projects or out of common opinions on the matter (I, 340, 343, 350). Still the record is somewhat clouded and the data are not yet available for a final measurement of the Colonel's power in devising things and forcing the President's hands. W. E. Dodd, Wilson's friend and biographer, gives House scant recognition in his story of the President's work, and Ray Stannard Baker is almost as summary in his verdict. But they leave many things unexplained.

At all events after the Wilson administration was launched, House gave minute attention to the legislative program, particularly the federal reserve bill. If, as reported at the time, the President turned a cold shoulder on "the interests," the same could not be said of his redoubtable Colonel. The budding orator who wins the next constitutional prize by telling us how Congress makes laws, the President executes them, and the courts interpret them will be shocked when he reads here a few slight passages on the enactment of the federal reserve law (I, 158-173). All important persons were "seen." J. P. Morgan, Jr., had a private plan of his own printed; Colonel House gently hinted that it would look better type-written! Vanderlip, Frick, Higginson, and other experienced gentlemen were heard with what effect our present record fails to state. The President's close friend, Cleveland H. Dodge, went with Warburg and Schiff to the White House, explaining that he acted at their request "because they had just given him a substantial subscription for the Y. M. C. A. fund" (I, 165). Senator Murray Crane, certainly not a Democrat in regular standing, telephoned House asking him to bring pressure on certain Democratic insurgents; House called up McAdoo and asked him to ask the President to "start the pressure." There is more on lawmaking and it is interesting; but little is heard of "Philip Dru" and his philosophy after 1913.

Nearly two-thirds of the first volume and almost all of the second volume are devoted to foreign affairs. After the passage of the federal reserve act, Colonel House looked for more worlds to conquer. "From the beginning of 1914 he gave more and more of his time to what he regarded as the highest form of politics and that for which he was peculiarly suited—international affairs" (I, 175). It does not appear that the Colonel was especially gifted in European languages or possessed a profound knowledge of European history, economics and diplomacy; but he certainly was a wise, discreet and silent man well fitted for secret negotiations. He did not accept the mythology of the propagandists put out for the gullible. He did not regard Germany as solely responsible for the World War. He knew that the Kaiser was little more than a figurehead. He had no patience with Britain's Belgium yarn. "In each government I have visited," he wrote to the President, in February, 1916, "I have found stubbornness, selfishness and cant. One continually hears self-glorification and the highest motives attributed to themselves because of their part in the War. But I may tell you that my observation is that incompetent statesmanship and selfishness is at the bottom of it all" (II, 165). Still the Colonel early came to the conclusion that if imperial Germany won the War, she would dominate Europe and sooner or later challenge America. On that theory he operated and these pages trace his steps with minute care. Here is a long account of the famous proposition made to Grey in 1916 calling for a peace conference and hinting at American participation on the side of the Entente if Germany refused to give heed. Grey in his recent work disposes of the business summarily. The volumes before us present an encyclopædic record but add little to the meat of the matter. They merely show House writing again and again to Sir Edward urging action—all without avail. Both House and Wilson were bitterly disappointed (II, 283, 286), because Grey refused to press the matter. As to the general situation in Europe during the War this "inside story" makes few startling revelations. Colonel House could have learned about as much by a steady reading of the belligerent press as he did from secret conferences with the belligerent statesmen.

There is also little that is new about Ambassador Page. He drew his own portrait in his inimitable letters. According to the present memorandum he wanted to smash Germany and let the Allies dictate any terms they chose (II, 136). He once said to House, "The President has no policy. He has lost the respect of Great Britain and the world. Lansing insults everyone with his notes, etc., etc." And House remarks: "I did not argue with him" (II, 178). The picture of the American ambassador in London condemning his own government and an unofficial special agent negotiating separately with the British ministry is one of the curiosities of intellectual and moral history.

Though most of the text is matter-of-fact, there is some humor in it. Bryan objected to sending President Eliot as our minister to China for the reason that the great educator was a Unitarian and did not believe in the divinity of Christ whereas new China was founded on the Christian movement there (I, 105). And President Wilson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gave attention to the matter of orthodoxy in considering the Oriental job (I, 179). When Page was asked whether he thought Daniels was good cabinet timber, he replied: "Hardly a splinter." When House announced to President Hadley on shipboard that Wilson had been nominated at Baltimore in 1912, he was shocked to have to say that he "never saw a man who evinced less enthusiasm" (I, 67). In one of his nightmares, President Wilson "thought he was seeing some of his Princeton enemies" (I, 119). At Buckingham Palace Colonel House made a note for his Anglicana: "Lord Northcliffe said last night that the Kaiser was dying of tuberculosis of the throat. The King declared this was nonsense; that he merely had a carbuncle on the back of his neck." That was January 14, 1916, during the war for the liberation of Belgium. Mr. Gerard gave Colonel House a note for his Germanic collection about the same time: "Von Tirpitz said that the Kaiser was losing his mind and spent all his time praying and learning Hebrew" (II, 105). Most amusing of all, however, is House's account of a long and earnest debate, conducted for his benefit by leading British ministers in February, 1916, a debate concerning the coming territorial settlement (II, 181) which, as a matter of fact, had been largely determined by secret treaties as sealed to President Wilson's mysterious emissary as to Mr. Page or any newsboy at the corner of Broad and Wall. But when all is said and done Colonel House appears here as an amazing and engaging figure—one of the biggest men of his time—and his editor as a scholar of penetration and ingenuity.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

Aesthetic Experience

The Æsthetic Experience, by Laurence Buermeyer. Merion, Pa.: Barnes Foundation. 183 pages. $1.50.

MR. BUERMEYER has made an excellent summary of psychological æsthetics in accord with the pragmatism and psychology of the Dewey school. The exposition, though condensed, is clear and thoroughly intelligent. It keeps the main line always open, and the argument moves serriedly to its conclusion. That argument is as follows.

We start with *instincts* which are impulsive tendencies that are completed only when the action works itself out in knowing, possessing, or transforming some object. Feelings accompany these processes, and these feelings are *emotion*. Instincts never operate singly and in isolation and *intelligence* is shown when the instincts, instead of conflicting, are brought into accord, and by mutual adaptation achieve desirable ends. Such is the material which in an elaborated form constitutes the æsthetic experience.

Such a process can be merely *practical*, as when it ends with the attainment of an object; it becomes *industrial* when more intelligent purpose leads to the production of an object which has enduring usefulness; and it becomes definitely æsthetic when the object with which it is concerned is interesting in excess of any practical or instrumental value that it may have.

A life that is restricted in the extreme is merely practical; with enlargement of interest expressive purpose develops; and the ultimate phase is when expression becomes of itself a sufficient interest. Then the æsthetic is no longer incidental, but has become the core of the activity. It is the goal of civilization so to organize the social structure and function that more and more of its total interests would enter into a whole on which one could look and say, as God did of the world He had created, that it was good. Such a totality of good subsisting in a reciprocity of functional parts, and known as a totality, would be the æsthetic ideal.

The foregoing is an ultra-arid summary, but it states, I think, the main points of Mr. Buermeyer's thesis. He has developed it clearly, illustrated it aptly, and has written many bright sharp sentences which ought to be printed in italics, to facilitate the reading of the book. This is at times overpacked. However, it is a good book.

There would seem to be little more to say in comment, and yet there is. Mr. Buermeyer has given an admirable account of the natural history of æsthetic experience in psychological terms, but a specifically analyzed separation and presentation of that which is precisely the æsthetic I do not find. On page 40 he says, "To pass into the fuller world of art . . . we need do no more than find the means whereby the partial values are fused into a simple coherent vision of what is good." This "coherent vision of what is good" and how to attain it, is the real subject of the book as I have indicated in my summary of it. But for my part I should like also to know what are the marks of the specifically æsthetic, those by which it can be distinguished in its least or greatest manifestations, in simplicity or in complexity. Of course I am not content to be fubbed off by two Capital Letters after the fashion of Mr. Clive Bell, or by the empty dialectic of Croce, whose sufficing worth lies in its aggressive vacuity. I do not say that Mr. Buermeyer has ignored this question, but I do say that he has not answered it satisfactorily. Let us consider.

There is frequent insistence throughout the book that the amount of personality expressed in a product is somehow related to its æsthetic significance. For instance, "A bridge, a power-house, an aeroplane, a ship, can at best embody a fraction of the interest proper to a human being." This is true, but does the checker pattern on the kitchen-table oil-cloth embody more? Yet who would question the æsthetic character of that pattern? It has even Significant Form of a rather insignificant kind. It certainly does not, in any ordinary sense of the word, express more of the interests proper to a human being than an aeroplane or a ship. It seems to express very little, and that expression, it seems more probable, is of some *special* interest proper to a human being, or else the nature of the interest expressed is irrelevant. However, we are told, page 41, that it is characteristic of the æsthetic that "it sees life steadily and sees it whole." No doubt the artist who designed the oil-cloth had to see it steadily and see it whole, but so, in some sense, does the engineer who designed the ship; so do I if I have to plan for a busy day tomorrow, otherwise I will find the contents of the day sticking over the edges, with no place to stow them. So far the æsthetic has not been defined. We are told, however, of other characters. (Page 16.) "Beauty is its own excuse for being. It is impersonal: we seek to enjoy beauty by understanding and appreciating it, not by appropriating it . . . what is beautiful for one is, or should be beautiful for all. If it is not some one is deceived or blinded." These opinions are traditional. No one of them, in so far as it is true, nor all of them together, enables me to distinguish the æsthetic.

"Beauty is its own excuse for being." So is everything that is not instrumental; the discussion of instinct in this book does, in fact, insist on this as the character of all ends. "We seek to enjoy beauty by understanding and appreciating it, not by appropriating it." What is meant by "appropriating"? Of course we cannot put beauty in our pockets or lock it up in a safe, but neither can we our right

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to walk down Fifth Avenue, or to sail the ocean blue. Our appropriation, if such there be, does not prevent some one else's, but that is true of all mental possessions. On the other hand we defend our æsthetic perceptions as passionately as we do other things that are indubitably possessive, and greed is nowhere more in evidence than among people who desire æsthetic experience. Many people like to monopolize their experience of this kind or to share it with very few, and monopoly goes with appropriation. In short we do appropriate it, even though our appropriative conduct is not identical with the appropriative conduct in reference to other objects.

"What is beautiful for one is, or should be, beautiful for all. If it is not, some one is deceived or blinded." My father believed that what was good for one to eat was good for all, and I remember that one Sunday, when there were visitors for dinner and he was showing off as a disciplinarian, I had to eat boiled turnips—I was then about five years old and was sick all the afternoon. I am quite sure that he had just as good a case for his dogma as the æstheticians have for theirs. The distinction which is so commonly made between *liking* a wine or a well cooked dish, and *knowing* that a picture is good, and considering the latter coercive and the former not, is one of those distinctions which everybody, in practice, belies and knows to be false. It would never occur to a connoisseur in wines that he did not *know* good wine, and that *good* wine was not indefeasibly *something*. The other doctrine, invented by philosophers, appeals to a sentimental interest in low living and high thinking, and seems an easy way out of a difficulty, but is *practically* believed in only by those who "don't know what they are eating or drinking."

There is nothing to be said for the notion that all people agree on what is beautiful since they obviously do not, but there is just as little to be said for the notion that they ought to. The actual amount of agreement is probably very much overestimated. Training, social convention, snobbery, and other motives induce a kind of assent that is often not false, but is radically neutral. Only a death-bed confession or a psycho-analytic scrutiny would produce testimony having evidential value. And over and above that is the fact that most of our more sincere opinions are merely averages, that is, they are estimations—what on the whole we think we think—and we couldn't possibly live up to them. Since then there is no actual agreement, the assertion that there ought to be agreement must be based upon some psychological fundamental. What this can be, I, for one, cannot imagine. If people were freed from all fears, all "suppressed desires," all grounds for prevarication, they might, for all that any one knows to the contrary, show far greater diversity than they do now, a far more acute demand for that which is precisely their affair. There is no more evidence that "any" good work of art would fit them than that "any" good suit of clothes would. Possibly some things of a high degree of generality might, but it is hardly worth while discussing this. This hare has not yet been caught. There is no use worrying about the recipe for cooking it.

Another argument against any compulsory assent to æsthetic valuation is the inadequacy of all art. Every work of art falls short of complete realization, and not in one respect only. If that were the case the degree of failure might be evaluated. But in fact there are many ways of falling short, and not all people attach equal importance to these different ways. Not even the same person, one might almost say. I owned a certain picture which I almost loathed because of certain deficiencies, and in ten years of possession I never got over this. Yet I admired the picture immensely, and when I finally did part with it I was relieved. It can be easily seen that if my dislike had been a little greater, the badness of the picture would have been the practically dominant fact, and would have determined my general attitude toward it. Such conditions are continually found, though they are not often so obvious. If, now, I were writing a book instead of a review I should proceed to show that the obligation to agree in æsthetics is *radically* absurd, but as things are I must leave the matter here.

I return, then, to the point from which I started. Mr. Buermeyer has made an excellent sketch of the general course of human development expressed in psychological terms, and it is a sketch, not because of its dimensions, but because of its method. If he had made it as big as the Encyclopædia Brittanica it would have come to be no more than a sketch. He has attempted an analysis of æsthetics in psychological terms, despite the fact that analytic psychology is such a feeble thing that it can doubtfully hold up its own weight. It is utterly prostrated when it attempts to hold up æsthetics as well. To make more clear what I mean, I shall use the analogy of geology.

Geology gives, among other things, an account of the formation of the earth's crust and its vicissitudes. But in order to do this with some accuracy, it makes use of such analytic sciences as crystallography and petrology. The chemical and physical properties of rocks are accurately studied, and if this were not done geology would be in a precarious state. If there were no clear distinctions between siliceous and calcareous rocks, between amorphous and crystalline structures, everything would be in a state of flux, and theories would have unbounded scope. Every science that is dependable has some constants to stick to. But the "science" of psychology is very weak in these. Shelley somewhere says that

> All things by a law divine
> In one another's being mingle,

and a law psychological brings about very similar results. Nothing stays put. Buermeyer's account does very well as a statement of the conditions within which the æsthetic life is lived and æsthetic experiences are had, that is, as descriptive psychology it does very well up to a certain point, and then, as I illustrated above, everything goes over into everything else because there are no definite psychological units to fall back upon. "Seeing life steadily and seeing it whole," and "Beauty is its own excuse for being," no matter how much elaborated, will not satisfactorily account for my kitchen-table oil-cloth. History without sufficient analysis will not make a science, and this book is a book of natural history with just enough of analysis to make the narrative plausible.

Psychology, in short, is not yet good enough to serve the purpose of a scientific æsthetics, except for detached bits of detailed study, because its terms are so very impressionistic. One goes off almost at once into that quagmire of instincts and emotions, impulse and intelligence, practice and contemplation, and can, psychologically speaking, travel, if at all, only with seven-league boots. With shorter strides one quickly ends in the mud. If there is no method available except the psychological, æsthetics will not soon get beyond the type of generality which Buermeyer has illustrated.

I believe that it is possible to get somewhere, but only by a resolute turning away from psychology. The reference to psychology is premature, and plunges one into a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mist of vagueness from which one emerges drenched in psychological implications, but slipping about on the wet ground with no real foothold. Writers of æsthetics of the Dewey school have made the great mistake, I believe, of being only half-baked pragmatists, and consequently, of losing almost all the advantage of their original direction. By pragmatism I mean, simply, behaviorism, but not behavioristic psychology which is another matter. I gave a simple illustration of behavioristic analysis when I criticized the term "appropriation" as Buermeyer uses it. Appropriative behavior does not correspond to the distinction that Buermeyer makes. He really refers partly to behavior and partly to the character of the object toward which one behaves. The æsthetic can, however, in my opinion, be best considered as a *specific* mode of behavior, and the objects that are æsthetically superior are then simply those that facilitate that mode. But I cannot in the conclusion of a review develop this theme on which I hope, before very long, to publish something further. I will add, however, that for the present, such a psychological treatment as that of the present book is probably the most satisfactory for educational purposes. A radical pragmatism can and, I believe, will carry much further, but for that purpose it must come forth from the limbo of the unborn.

LEO STEIN.

Theodore Dreiser

An American Tragedy, by Theodore Dreiser. Two Vols. New York: Boni and Liveright. $5.

DREISER is one of those writers who are said to have historical importance, one of those trail-breakers, that is, who make a deep impress on their own time and who are known to later generations by reputation, but by reputation only. Dreiser's force and originality—greatness is not too strong a word—must become only more obvious with the passage of years; but surely that greatness will be taken more and more on faith. The labor of reading him, with the sense it brings of a grinding despair, as of being pursued in a nightmare over endless wastes of soft sand, is an experience, however profitable, that is too painful to be sought out by normal humanity.

To take the full measure of Dreiser's achievement, one must remember that Sister Carrie appeared in 1900 and Jennie Gerhardt in 1911, and that among the most popular and typical novels of those years were When Knighthood Was in Flower, Graustark, and Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm. No wonder that from the first Dreiser was treated either to invective or to apologetics, and that his apologists dwelt on his intentions and on his personal qualities almost to the exclusion of his work. At least, at a time when fiction was a kind of confectionery, he was not facile, conventional, pretty and optimistic: at least, he meant well. And the critics who approved of his purpose—to tell the whole truth about American life as he saw it, even though he saw it as unpleasant—could not afford, in the bitter war being waged with the censors and the moralists, to question his literary success. Furthermore, his granite-like steadfastness and integrity, his insistence on seeing for himself, were so striking and so admirable that it was natural to praise the man and forget the novelist.

All Dreiser's virtues are as evident as ever in An American Tragedy; if they no longer shine quite so brilliantly and all-sufficingly, it is doubtless because the contrasting background has disappeared, owing in part to the lesson which Dreiser has himself taught. Fifteen years ago, An American Tragedy would have been a portent; now it is another of Dreiser's novels, much like its predecessors. More successful than The Financier, The Titan, and The "Genius", less successful but also a more difficult undertaking than Sister Carrie or Jennie Gerhardt, it marks a return rather than an advance, a return from high finance and high society, from elaborate études de mœurs and minute accounts of social machinery, to the sort of topic which Dreiser is best fitted to handle: the sordid and pathetic story of a midwestern boy of the lower middle class whose weakness lands him in disaster. It shows development only in that Dreiser tries to reach higher emotional levels and greater intensity than he has attempted heretofore. Otherwise, it is another manifestation of his familiar merits and defects: in other words, it is a novel no other living American could have written—and also, probably, one which no other would have written.

An American Tragedy could have been written only by a man of unusual power and magnitude. Even on the harshest critic Dreiser's novels must leave an impression that the author has a kind of greatness. The cause of this impression and the source of Dreiser's greatness I take to be his emotional endowment—not so much an intensity as a tremendous, steady, unfailing flood of feeling. He is distinguished from ordinary men by extraordinary strength and volume of passion. Chiefly it shows itself in his tragic sense, in his profound consciousness of the tragedy inherent in all existence, in the very scheme of things—tragedy inescapable, essential, universal, perceived by many, but by very few so overwhelmingly felt. His brooding pity penetrates all life as he sees it, touching every human being, from the most glittering superman to the forlornest prostitute, as in An American Tragedy it touches everyone from the bellboys of the Green-Davidson Hotel in Kansas City to the rich and beautiful Sondra Finchley, social leader of Lycurgus, New York. Especially acute is his perception of man's endless capacity for suffering, a trait which lends dignity to even the weakest and most contemptible of Dreiser's creatures, even to the elder Griffiths, the street-preaching derelict who is the hero's father in An American Tragedy, just as Clyde's mother, for all her grotesqueness, in her grief for her son illustrates Dreiser's saying that "sometimes even the mediocre and the inefficient attain to a classic stature when dignified by pain."

Dreiser's emotional capacity shows itself not only in his tragic sense but also in his zest, his unflagging relish for actuality and his feeling of its mystery. His is a romantic love of reality, charged with wonder and awe. His love of life, good or bad, beautiful or ugly, is omnivorous; because it is all strange, to him it is all exciting. To a curiosity so voracious and an interest so insatiable as his, nothing whatever seems dull or tiresome. Hence come his amazing faculty of observation and his relentless heaping up of detail; hence also, therefore, the epic sweep often and rightly attributed to his novels, which have the range and vastness pertaining to any minute record of an enormous area of human life. This gusto, however, not content with imparting scope to his work, leads him into trouble, for because of it he can resist no temptation to wander off into by-paths and tedious digressions. Because he can bring himself to leave out nothing, he piles up mountains of pointless minutiæ, irrelevant and insignificant, and produces an intolerable tedium. He can never learn to omit, for his latest novel is as overweighted as his earlier; on page 78 of the second volume Clyde commits the murder which really ends his story; he is captured on page 145; his trial drags along to his conviction on page 330; and his execu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion takes place on page 405. Not even The Financier so abundantly illustrates Dreiser's ability to make ten pages do the work of one. His emotion, when it shows itself as all-inclusive love of reality, is a source of weakness as well as of strength.

Yet even these vast talus-heaps of detail are stirred by the tides of passion which surge under them. Somehow, in spite of everything, Dreiser manages to communicate something of his feeling, which burns, though dimly and feebly, even through the slag and dross of his writing. If many readers regard his emotionality as merely sentimental, it is partly because the childish crudity of his expression lends an appearance of falsity. When the "Genius" exclaims "What a sweet welter life is—how rich, how tender, how grim, how like a colorful symphony" and the author adds "Great art dreams welled up into his soul as he viewed the sparkling deeps of space," it is difficult, but also I think necessary, to believe that words so inadequate and so false could be called forth by true emotion. An American Tragedy contains some two hundred pages like the following:

> But, God, what was that?
> Oh, that terrible sound!
> Like a whimpering, screeching spirit in this dark!
> There!
> What was it?
> He dropped his bag and in a cold sweat sunk down, crouching behind a tall, thick tree, rigid and motionless with fear.
> That sound!
> But only a screech-owl! He had heard it several weeks before at the Cranston lodge. But here! In this wood! This dark! He must be getting on and out of here. There was no doubt of that. He must not be thinking such horrible, fearful thoughts, or he would not be able to keep up his strength or courage at all.
> But that look in the eyes of Roberta! That last appealing look! God! He could not keep from seeing it! Her mournful, terrible screams! Could he not cease from hearing them—until he got out of here anyhow?

Finally the author's agitation grows insufferable in the chapters devoted to Clyde's experience in the death house, which rival a Hearst paper's account of a popular murderer's last agonies. Dreiser's understanding of Clyde, his pity and sympathy, his remarkable imaginative power, are rendered all but vain by the terms in which they are expressed, terms which disgust fully as much as they move the reader.

Most of Dreiser's warmest champions, such as Mencken, grant that he cannot write, grant that he has no narrative sense and no sense of words or of style, that he is prolix and irrelevant, that his sentences are worse than chaotic, that he violates English and even American idiom; these foibles, however, they regard as but petty irritations which must be overlooked. But how can such writing be negligible? Dreiser could not write as he does, mixing slang with poetic archaisms, reveling in the cheap, trite and florid, if there were not in himself something correspondingly muddled, banal and tawdry. Furthermore, since a writer works through words alone and words are his only means of communication, a failure in writing is necessarily a failure in communication—and of Dreiser's failure the best that can be said is that it is incomplete. Somehow he contrives to give a sense of reality and veracity, as of a tremendous story which actually happened told by an inept, loquacious stutterer, himself deeply stirred, who sometimes unintentionally misrepresents the facts. In An American Tragedy he has particularly difficult problems in carrying the reader's belief—that so feeble a creature as Clyde would prove a social success and captivate Sondra Finchley, or would plan and carry out a murder. I cannot doubt Clyde's story in the main, but I cannot believe that it happened precisely as Dreiser has recounted it.

Dreiser's characterization suffers, and must inevitably suffer, from his incapacity to handle words. As in The Financier and The "Genius" he asserts that his heroes are brilliant and irresistible, yet shows them as vulgar dullards because he is unable to write good conversation, so in An American Tragedy he misses success because he cannot so use language as to communicate intense feeling. Not that the reader is unaffected—but the disparity between the author's perturbation and the inadequacy of his expression is almost grotesque. If Clyde and Roberta and the rest were not half concealed by a deluge of inept verbiage, An American Tragedy might well be one of the world's great novels.

Perhaps Dreiser's incompetence in the management of his medium is partly accounted for by the striking resemblance of his writing to the world which he depicts, a world chaotic and tawdry, without plan, purpose, or sense, lacking even the rudimentary organization of a wolf pack, a world offering no valid reasons for living, no reward which would appeal to a rational or civilized being, no prize save an economic success which can buy only physical luxury, inane display and vulgar snobbery. It is a brutal world, a free-for-all of personal aggrandizement, no more humane than the aboriginal jungle of sabre-toothed tiger and woolly elephant, a world seeking meretricious and gaudy in the absence of genuine satisfactions. Not only futile and wasteful, it is also tragic and passionate, for its inhabitants are endowed with desires and possibilities for which it affords no possible means of fulfillment. The strongest and coarsest are dissatisfied victors; the weak mill helplessly about, kicked and trodden upon. Dreiser's books are the stammering utterance of this pathetic and flashy disorder trying to speak.

Similarly, one might say that Dreiser's philosophy is this world trying to think. Being able to conceive nothing else, he assumes that human life everywhere has always been and must always be like the life he has himself known at first hand. His thought is simply a formulation of the beliefs which he has discerned in the practice of those about him. The official and avowed creed of his world—the taboo morality and silly ostrich-like optimism with which it oils the wheels of progress—he never tires of attacking; but the creed implicit in its actions he has exalted into a universal philosophy. He regards human existence as inevitably a bestial anarchy never under any circumstances capable of yielding better gratifications than the joy of fighting, sensual pleasure, and the parade of money. For all his onslaughts on the pious camouflage with which his compatriots conceal their motives and doings even from themselves, he has essentially accepted American life as he found it in the midwest of his younger years. He has felt and experienced his world too fully to be able to detach himself from it and try it by any other standards than its own. He has identified himself with it, and the union has brought forth the misbegotten Leviathans of his novels. Through this union he has taken into himself and so into his art the anarchy and the cheap barbarity of his surroundings.

Yet what a tremendous emotional pressure has gone into

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this identification, what power of realization! Of that power, the basis of life as well as of literature, surely Dreiser has more than any other living American. Furthermore, in the making of this vital contact with American life, Dreiser was the first, the pioneer. Herein lies the debt which all other writers owe to him—herein lies his greatness and his significance. No doubt it was necessary that someone should be sacrificed by being merged and sunk, and that he was chosen was Dreiser's fortune and misfortune. His real achievement is to be found in the work of others, work which he has helped make possible. And his contribution is not to literature alone; he has done more, directly and indirectly, than any other individual to rouse Americans to a consciousness of what American life is like and if an American civilization ever emerges, Dreiser's share in its making will not be small. That is what it is to have historical importance. Perhaps it is more than being a good novelist.

T. K. WHIPPLE.

Shakespeare, Keats and a Tertium Quid

Shakespeare and Keats, by J. Middleton Murry. New York: Oxford University Press. 248 pages. $4.75.

MR. JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY calls his new book Shakespeare and Keats; but strict accuracy demands a third name in the title—his own. For his book has as much to say about Mr. Murry himself and his own tastes as about his subject. In most books this would be a reproach. In this one, I am not so sure. If criticism is really the record of a soul's adventures among masterpieces, surely it is an advantage to find out what kind of soul is having the adventures. Shakespeare, Keats, and I would not be a bad title for Mr. Murry, or for anyone else able to write up to it; and this, it should be said in Mr. Murry's favor, he does with competence, distinction and beauty—a rare and desirable trio of qualities only too seldom united betwixt the front and back covers of any binding.

Shakespeare and Keats, then, is the personal record of a personal study and some highly personal enthusiasms. Anyone can enjoy that kind of writing, but no one in untrammelled possession of his mental powers is likely to approve all of it without qualification.

The faults and mannerisms that are sometimes so irritating in Mr. Murry's Adelphi articles have fallen from him here. The worst that can be said is that the author's pen keeps sliding away into phrases or sentences, or even paragraphs, which are graceful and read easily, but which mean nothing in particular and certainly nothing that matters very much. There are many passages where the perfection of the form interferes badly with the utterance itself. That is Mr. Murry's crying fault. He may err in company with Pater, but err he indubitably does.

Yet all this must not be taken to mean that Shakespeare and Keats is a bad piece of work. Though originally written for delivery as the Clark Lectures, its pages are blessedly free from the platform manner, which is a great deal more than can be said for most volumes of published disquisitions of the sort.

This is a study of the mind of John Keats, its joys, its sufferings, and its creative working. It is, in short, the psychology of Keats, if we use that word as it was used in the days when people still read Greek, and when it meant something more than a subject for textbooks and "success" lectures or a paragraph in a university catalogue.

Shakespeare, Mr. Murry tells us, is one of the two antagonists in a silent struggle for the mind of Keats. A great prize, truly, and the battle over it is a contest of the titans, for the other antagonist is John Milton. When a Shakespeare and a Milton struggle to possess the mind of a Keats, the fray is worth observing. Mr. Murry—to use a word that he certainly will not understand and still more certainly will not approve when it is explained to him—roots for Shakespeare. In his view, Milton is a poet who turned away from life into an abstract realm of his own. Shakespeare is the one poet who has most unfalteringly maintained his contact with the world of everyday. When Keats felt that the world was something he could no longer endure, when he felt the need for escape most bitterly—a frame of mind for which, God knows, his life provided ample cause—the Miltonic influence came uppermost. But when Keats was most human, when he was most thoroughly Keats, he turned to Shakespeare as naturally as he turned to poetry itself. There was a time, not long before Keats's death, during the period when financial disaster and Fanny Brawne's unconscious cruelty were more than he could bear, when Keats deliberately set himself to turn Miltonic; yet in the end he broke away from the "chief of organic numbers," and turned back to Shakespeare for aid, for comfort, and to find his own soul.

Mr. Murry himself was amazed by the discovery that "in the critical moments of Keats's life his appeal to Shakespeare was inevitable." Like most discoveries it was unexpected. He had copied out many passages in the letters, thinking only of their illumination of the workings of Keats's mind; and then—"when I came to read them through in isolation, there, manifest to my eyes, was the golden thread—Shakespeare, Shakespeare, Shakespeare." That is a rather important bit of information about the way in which Shakespeare and Keats was written. Mr. Murry's study does not set up a thesis which came first and was subsequently bolstered up by laboriously chosen facts; but it is criticism which follows the best tradition—facts first, theory afterward. Shakespeare and Keats is the best evidence that the scientific method—when it is really scientific and not merely dull—is not without a place in the study of a great poet, however sparing its employment may have to be.

The relation of Mr. Murry's book to Miss Lowell's biography is of special interest to American readers. Shakespeare and Keats was written before Miss Lowell's first volume had appeared, but by the English publisher's courtesy, Mr. Murry read the proof sheets of the first volume and concluded that "if Miss Lowell's second volume is as good as her first the biography of Keats has been written once for all." Then came the second volume itself, and Mr. Murry appends a postcript to remark that "her second volume is by no means as good as her first. I am afraid I owe it nothing except the necessity of elaborately correcting one very serious mistake in it concerning the composition of Hyperion."

This correction is contained in an Appendix. Mr. Murry denies in toto Miss Lowell's idea that the "second" Hyperion was composed before the first, basing his judgment on Keats's letters, the statements of Charles Armitage Brown, a comparison of the two versions of the poem, and some of Miss Lowell's own data. It is not a subject, however, on which a final verdict can be rendered.

For all its flaws, Shakespeare and Keats is a very fine and very important book, which no lover of either poet or of poetry in general can afford to leave unread.

JOHN BAKELESS.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lincoln at Home

Abraham Lincoln, The Prairie Years, by Carl Sandburg. Two Vols. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 962 pages. $10.

NEAR the beginning of the second volume of Carl Sandburg's biography of Lincoln, a strongly-shaded wood-cut presents a Springfield street of the Fifties. In a place of elm-fringed sidewalks and dormered cottages, women passers-by gracefully shawled and bonneted pause and talk together; and men in high hats walk and confer, among these men one apparently in the likeness of Lincoln. Yet the hero of the cut is not Lincoln but a little black steam engine pouring a fine trailer of smoke from a great stack, and rolling a train of freight-cars through the very centre of the piece.

This attractive picture, however heinous its implications in the eyes of Ruskinians, illustrates with discernment the economic landscape of Lincoln's lifetime. In his childhood the settlement of the country was following the courses of the waterways. In his manhood the settlement of the country was turned along the courses of the railways; and their manifold steam clouds waved the leading banner of union, hope and progress over the agricultural and industrial scene.

Raftsman, settler, a farm lawyer, a railroad lawyer, and what may be called a river lawyer, Lincoln grew up in the midst of these spacious and dramatic transitions. The story of the changing economic, agricultural and industrial forces of the nation in Lincoln's day and the story of the effect of these changing forces on Lincoln form the great contribution of this biography. Not only as a biographical interpretation but as the economic history of an era the book has a striking original power.

When Lincoln was seven years old poverty drove his family from Kentucky to Indiana.

> Poor white men were having a harder time to get along. . . . It seemed that as more slave black men were brought in, a poor white man didn't count for so much.

When he was twenty-one years old poverty drove his family from Indiana to Illinois. At twenty-eight he is riding into Springfield to prepare to be a lawyer; and cannot afford seventeen dollars for bedding.

> In the early thirties was weaving the fabric of an empire, a pastoral and agricultural nation, with its foundations resting on three chief conditions: (1) the special fertility of a certain strip of land for cotton crops; (2) the raising of the cotton crop by Negro slave labor; (3) the sale of that crop to northern American and to English cotton mills that sold their finished products in a constantly widening world market.

In Lowell farmer's daughters worked in the mills from five in the morning till seven at night. In fifteen years the price of sheeting had dropped from forty cents a yard to eight and a half cents. Thousands of prisoners are in jail for debt in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York; and in one city the total debt of forty prisoners is twenty-three dollars and forty cents.

In his fortieth year when Lincoln came back from his Congressional term in Washington, to Springfield,

> He saw cow pastures his feet had worn paths on, filled with lumber frame cottages; fences hedged the old paths. He saw city lots where a log cabin had stood and the dishes inside were pewter; in their stead had come a brick house with a pantry and little fan-shaped dishes, ice-cream dishes tinted with gold and blue violets. . . . It was a clean, snug-looking place.

Here Lincoln continued to shovel snow and curry-comb his horse, cut his own firewood, and put "slicked axle-grease on his buggy wheels," even after he was earning the highest fees then paid in the region for legal service.

When Lincoln was forty-nine, forty thousand unemployed men paraded the New York streets carrying a banner with the words, "Hunger is a sharp thorn." "Ten thousand Negroes a year were being smuggled from Africa and sold in the United States." A distinguished Virginian was lecturing at Yale and throughout the country, offering a highly popular discourse urging a national extension of the principle of slavery without race distinction.

> Make the man who owns a thousand dollars of capital the guardian . . . of one white pauper of average value. Give the man who is worth ten thousand dollars ten paupers, and a millionaire a thousand. This would be an act of simple justice and mercy.

The public lands divided among "responsible men." Paupers, the unemployed and non-landowners to be attached to the soil for life. Such were to be the acts of simple justice and mercy.

> The argument has commenced. One set of ideas will govern and control after a while the civilized world. Slavery will everywhere be abolished or everywhere be re-instituted.

By this time there were four million wage-earners in the North. What had they to say in this argument? What had the new West to say, with its far-flung project of the western railroads?

> The railroad and traffic problem of the country, the land question and free homestead development were woven in and tied through with the more open issue of slavery. The economic resources of the North were beginning to tower overwhelmingly over the South. It was happening again and again that an economic issue based on natural, healthy growth of the country was buried and covered over by the raging passions and prejudices of the supreme political, social and economic issue of slavery.

The story swings on through the excitement of the Chicago convention, the announcement of Lincoln's nomination, the election, the secession of states before March, the strain of the insistent office-seekers at Springfield, swings on through the prairie years to the moments of Lincoln's farewell to the Illinois neighborhood he was never to see again.

> You may bury me in the East
> You may bury me in the West.
> But we'll all rise together in the morning.

A broad-flowing river of contemporary songs of Lincoln's day, hymn, ballad, serenade pours a sympathetic music through the story.

> The earth was from her centre tossed
> And mountains in the ocean lost
> Torn piece-meal by the roaring tide.

Many swift and poetic characterizations of men and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Denounced in Congress; praised by historians and critics; read and discussed throughout the country: here unquestionably is the most important book that the war has yet brought forth.

THE INTIMATE PAPERS OF COLONEL HOUSE

ARRANGED AS A NARRATIVE BY

CHARLES SEYMOUR

"Here is a unique book, full of astounding revelations. It reads like a romance written by a historical society. It is well nigh incredible, yet it seems to be composed of the truth and nothing but the truth. More than any memoir that I have read since 1914 it perturbs conceptions of history. . . . It includes such conversations with kings and kaisers and such momentous correspondence with the leading statesmen of Europe and America as I suppose no private citizen in the history of the world ever before carried on. It includes the priceless diary in which, with the aid of his secretary, the Colonel recorded every evening for eight years a resume of the day's events, with characterizations, often mordant, of scores of the world's famous men."

—*Stuart Sherman in the New York Herald Tribune.*

2 Vols., illustrated, boxed, $10.00

LETTERS OF BRET HARTE

Edited by Geoffry Bret Harte

The first complete revelation of one of the most picturesque careers in the history of American letters.

Illus. $5.00

A NATURALIST OF SOULS

Gamaliel Bradford

Studies of Lemaitre, Xenophon and Walter Pater are included in this new edition.

$3.50

ELIZABETHAN LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

M. St. Claire Byrne

An intimate, detailed and accurate picture of home life in the Elizabethan age.

Illus. $2.50

RICHARD KANE LOOKS AT LIFE

Irwin Edman

Through ten years of his life, first at college, then against a background of the past in Europe, then of the present in Greenwich Village; against the demands of a suburban home and social entanglements, Richard Kane reaches out for "the friendly life of the senses and the mind."

Written from wide learning and experience, full of poignant truth, the book constitutes a convincing philosophy of life for the young man or woman attempting to find a foothold in a materialistic age. $2.50

OTHER PEOPLE'S DAUGHTERS

Eleanor Rowland Wembridge

In these seventeen studies from life, the outlook and problems of city girls are revealed with consumate skill and delicate art. $2.50.

THE SACRED TREE

Lady Murasaki

A continuation of the incomparable "Tale of Genji," translated from the Japanese by Arthur Waley. $3.50

THE NEW BALTIC STATES

Owen Rutter

Complete and impartial information about Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Illus. $5.00

AN IMMIGRANT IN JAPAN

Theodate Geoffry

The real Japan as seen by an American woman who lived as a native. Illus. $3.00

IN THE HEART OF ASIA

Lieut.-Col. P. T. Etherton

Experiences of an English Secret Service agent in Turkestan. Illus. $5.00

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

women people the pages. Lincoln's relations to women are treated in a fresh and profound manner, especially his relation to Mary Todd Lincoln. "A child who had strayed into the wrong room." She is most mercifully regarded. "Too mercifully" said a friend of mine. "Of course she was really a dreadful woman." But to me Mr. Sandburg's impression of her seems fair-minded and humane. She had a right to her own social ideals, those of more flowered china, more silk dresses, little prestiges, small, caste sophistications. The justice of the book in this respect gives an indication of its fine tone of scrupulous truth.

Without questioning the validity of this truth from the author's point of view one finds it sometimes not in accord with one's own readings of Lincoln's life. Nathaniel Stephenson has shown us, as I think, conclusively, that Lincoln was subject to unexplained periods of eclipse, of nullity. In these periods, more than once, his actions, his words appeared to lack grasp, focus, consistency.

It was such a lapse in my view that caused his confusing methods with the McClernand Democrats and the Kellogg Compromise. "The incident was a piece of Lincoln propaganda," Mr. Sandburg says. But propaganda however excellent its causes does not justify all means. The strongest admirer of Lincoln cannot I think justifiably admire this political incident. Neither can the strongest admirer justifiably admire—in my view—Lincoln's letters to his father.

Mr. Sandburg does not "prettify" these instances of Lincoln's relations to mankind. But he poetizes them. Or rather, he describes these relations with a poetry not quite penetrating enough in what Keats called "rich entanglements" to include certain uglinesses one believes to have existed in these instances.

This is the mere record of a differing opinion. A striking value of the book is its scrupulous adherence to the author's carefully-ascertained conception of truth. In the air of recent letters an idea has been afloat that biographical truth doesn't matter. It is almost as though people thought that because too many biographies of indiscriminate adulation had been written, the balance might somehow be righted in the vast limbo of time, by writing too many biographies of indiscriminate disparagement. A dull and imitative world has mistakenly deduced this latter-day error from the original genius of Mr. Lytton Strachey. Many authors with no talent for irony and no interest in social observation are now writing biographies on the basis of a determined social irony and a fixed condescension towards the unfortunate great. Most can raise the flower now. All have got the seed. But the flower of The Prairie Years blossoms from seed grown in the ground of the author's own knowledge.

It is especially good to have a book not only incapable of routine praises or condescensions, but largely concerned with that peculiar glory of truth, with those individual qualities which made Lincoln different from any other man before or after him. Lincoln's fame houses a wide Pharisaism of admirers who would have disliked and disapproved of him as a contemporary and are out of sympathy with the peculiar glory of truth his life expressed for us—his great gentleness, his clear-sighted courage against class standards, against the prestige of irrational dominations, above all, his profound sense of the mystery of our common mortal fate.

"The only Christian died upon the Cross." If the great spirit of Lincoln did not die with him, yet what seems to survive more characteristically in the leading American thought and power of our time is rather the spirit of Mrs. Lincoln—the taste for stupid little sophistications, the love of caste prestige, and "masterful" pretensions.

> The argument has commenced. One set of ideas will govern and control after a while the civilized world. Slavery will everywhere be abolished or everywhere be re-instated.

If the economic history of The Prairie Years is its greatest prose contribution, its power in making Lincoln's thought a part of the world-thought of the future is its most moving poetic value. We have all found it easier to sorrow over Lincoln dead than to live in the faith of his life. The Prairie Years has planned and executed a more difficult task than that of the story of a personal tragedy in showing us a quietly revelative and convincing picture of Lincoln as

> A storm-star, lighting the history of the world.

EDITH WYATT.

Scholarship Triumphant

Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion, by Caroline F. E. Spurgeon. New York: The Macmillan Company. Three vols. 1313 pages. $12.50.

HERE are 1313 pages recording and discussing the reputation of the poet Chaucer from the earliest known mention of him down to 1900, the five hundredth year since his death: 152 pages of introductory comment and explanation, 1074 pages of record, and—fortunately for the student—87 pages of index. Truly a colossal monument to the Father of English Poetry.

Confronted by this vast collection of allusion, comment, and criticism, who can wonder that Dr. Furnivall—the onlie begetter of this, as of so many other great accomplishments of scholarship—sought long without finding a young scholar confident enough of his powers of endurance to undertake the task? Many an ardent Chaucerian who would gladly have devoted two, three, or even five years to work for the master shrank from this adventure, echoing very nearly the words of the Knight as he began his Tale:

> It is, God wot, a large feeld to ere,
> And wayke ben the oxen in my plough;

but Miss Spurgeon, though aware, was unterrified. And the manner in which she has worked out the large design would have more than satisfied Dr. Furnivall, had he lived to see these capacious and attractive volumes.

Oversights and omissions occur, as is inevitable in any such undertaking, but the public will not notice them, the scholar will in the course of time supply them in his own copy, and it may be confidently asserted that they are not numerous enough to justify the future publication even of a supplement. These volumes will remain permanently the unique authority in the field.

The twenty-four fine collotype illustrations include some things that are familiar—such as the Hoccleve portrait, the figures of Chaucer and the Squire from the Ellesmere MS, the tomb, and the Chaucer window in the Abbey, the imaginative groups of the Pilgrims by Stothard and by Blake, the beautiful miniature of Charles d'Orleans composing his verses in the Tower, the pages from Harvey's Chaucer, and from the Kelmscott edition—but more than half of them will be entirely new to all readers save a very few. These include facsimiles of the appointment of Chaucer as Clerk of the King's Works, Chatterton's MS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAN HISTORY :: LAW :: ECONOMICS :: SOCIOLOGY

Odtaa

New Novel by hn Masefield

taa means "One mn Thing er Another" — a phrase which cisely describes the fast pace of s superb adventure story, unalterated with the drab realism, monizing and psychological byhs of most current fiction. $2.50

The Question Mark

A novel by M. Jaeger

first novel with an unusual me, written with unusual vividss by one of the most brilliant England's younger novelists. $2.50

Delight

A novel by Mazo de la Roche

spring novel that is adequately scribed by its title. "Delight" is pleasing story in which Miss de Roche has surpassed her former rk in character presentation and iftsmanship. $2.00

l Problem

inous Coal

elen R. Wright

sick industry that is available." etitive industry which for real- style will not soon be surpassed *The Nation.* $2.50

he Coal Industry

uffern

f the human element in the coal e economic organization of the $2.50

Problem

elen Everett

e Institute of Economics have of Great Britain's most press- $2.50

The Duffer's Handbook of Golf

by Grantland Rice, Illustrated by Clare Briggs

Text by Grantland Rice, sports editor of the New York Herald-Tribune; cartoons by Clare Briggs—what more can you want for consumption at the nineteenth hole? The COMPLETE golf book, scientific and humorous. $3.50

Italy Under Mussolini

by William Bolitho

This famous newspaper correspondent went to Italy with his eyes open and has seen through the myths and mists surrounding the famous dictator now ruling that nation. The only reliable account of Fascism from an unprejudiced writer. $2.50

Law Reform

by Henry W. Taft

The whole vexatious problem of legal reforms is treated with a sure divining rod by Mr. Taft, now the chairman of the Law Reform Committee of the American Bar Association. The rôle of the public is especially stressed. $3.00

The American Year Book

Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and W. M. Schuyler

An indispensable record of the year's important events that is needed as a reference book by every public official, man of affairs and library. Fifty experts have collaborated to make it accurate, complete and authoritative. $7.50

The Gang Age

by Paul Hanley Furfey

This study of the adolescent boy and his recreational needs by Doctor Furfey is rich in suggestion and information for students of education, psychologists and all who work with children and mould future citizens. $2.00

Free Thought in the Social Sciences

by J. A. Hobson

The author holds that "the most urgent business of our age is to devise better laws of conduct in the arts of human government" and that success depends upon stimulation of the largest number of independent thinkers. With this thesis he has made a book that every *New Republic* reader will find stimulating. $4.00

The Gist of Evolution

by H. H. Newman

One of the expert scientists at the Scopes trial in Dayton has started from that focal point of the current controversy and written a clear and plain account of the theory of evolution, for the busy reader who wants the core of the facts. $1.50

The American Pulpit

Edited by Charles C. Morrison

The mind of the church is mirrored in these twenty-five sermons of the most influential preachers in the United States, chosen by a poll of 90,000 ministers. An inspiring collection of Christian thought for both minister and layman. $2.50

m publication

N COMPANY :: ATLANTA :: DALLAS :: SAN FRANCISCO ::

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

note, the sonnet written by John Keats in Cowden Clarke's Chaucer, and—most important to the student—the laudatory ballade sent by Eustache Deschamps to the "grant translateur" who had transplanted into England the Tree of the Rose. There are also four interesting woodcuts of the Pilgrims from Caxton and Pynson, Ford Madox Brown's Chaucer at the Court of Edward III, and portraits of Chaucer from British Museum MS Add. 5141 and Speght's edition.

The reader who loves to browse on literary anecdote will find in these pages some rich feeding—sayings of Dryden and Swift and Blake and Horace Walpole, of Wordsworth and Scott and Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt, with Lockhart's caustic comment on Hunt—"What he praises in them (Chaucer and Spenser) is never what is deserving of praise but what he conceives resembles the more perfect productions of Mr. L. H." He will read with amused astonishment the verses addressed by William Cartwright in 1635 to Kynaston upon the publication of that diligent scholar's translation of Troilus and Crisseyde into Latin:

> 'Tis to your happy cares wee owe that we
> Read Chaucer now without a Dictionary.

Even the Chaucer expert will perhaps be surprised to learn of that rough Egyptian pebble on which the hand of nature has executed a striking likeness of the head of Chaucer (pt. iii, p. 95) and he will surely find a hundred other interesting facts previously unknown to him.

The records assembled by Miss Spurgeon do not modify in any respect what was already known to scholars concerning the fluctuations of Chaucer's reputation and the causes thereof. They merely fill in the details of a familiar topography. And in my opinion, the principal value of the volumes does not lie in the fulfilment of their ostensible purpose but in their unintentional revelation of the parts played respectively by scholarship and literary criticism in the rehabilitation of Chaucer. The contrast is striking and instructive.

To put the contrast briefly, literary criticism was not only incapable of distinguishing the genuine work of Chaucer from the spurious, inferior productions to which his name had accidentally become attached, but even after technical scholarship had clearly separated the genuine from the spurious, literary criticism for a time refused to accept the results and maintained that the qualities of the two were identical. That Horace Walpole and his contemporaries preferred the modernizations of Dryden and others to the originals need not surprise us. Walpole writes in a letter to Mason: "I have waded through Mr. Tyrwhitt's most tedious notes to the Canterbury Tales, for a true antiquary can still be zealous to settle the genuine shape of a lump of mineral from which Dryden extracted all the gold and converted (it) into beautiful medals." That Lamb and Coleridge and Hazlitt accepted as genuine the Black Knight, the Boke of Cupid, the Court of Love, the Isle of Ladies, the Flower and the Leaf and the Testament of Love, and that even John Keats thought the Flower and the Leaf had the true Chaucerian quality is surprising, though perhaps excusable. But it is inexcusable that in 1874, after the work of the Chaucer Society had confirmed and extended the results of Tyrwhitt, so competent a scholar as Professor William Minto, though accepting the new biography, should fail to understand the cogency of the linguistic tests and should reject the theory of Italian influence—declaring, "I can distinguish no change either in his methods or in his spirit that is fairly attributable to Italian influence"—and argue that the Court of Love was so distinctly Chaucerian that even if of doubtful authenticity it could properly be made the basis for his discussion of the characteristics of Chaucer's poetry.

The fact is that literary criticism—the criticism that depends upon the judgments of taste alone—is often incompetent to separate the genuine from the spurious without the aid of scome form of technical scholarship. This has been abundantly and dishearteningly demonstrated in the history of critical opinion on the plays ascribed to Shakespeare and is perhaps even more strikingly illustrated in the evidence here assembled by Miss Spurgeon. And perhaps the strangest feature of the whole matter is that when once scholarship has, by its slow processes, succeeded in separating the true from the false and in getting its results accepted by literary criticism, the distinctions in method and quality are so clear that even the literary critic cannot understand how the true and the false could have been confused—how The Merry Devil of Edmonton could have been ascribed to Shakespeare or the Court of Love to Chaucer.

It would be difficult to find a more triumphant vindication of the methods of modern philological scholarship than is afforded by the history of Chaucerian investigation since the foundation of the Chaucer Society by Dr. Furnivall in 1867. The most important result is not that we have learned that Chaucer's verse instead of being rough and inharmonious is as smooth and musical as that of Keats or Tennyson, but rather that there has emerged—and is still emerging—the conception of Chaucer not only as a great and serious poet but as an artist who had reflected deeply and successfully upon the principles of his art.

Americans may well be proud of the part played by American scholars in this development. It was Professor Francis James Child's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer that first laid a secure basis for all that has been accomplished since and his influence and money that made possible the foundation of the Chaucer Society. And among the workers previous to 1900 two other Americans—Thomas R. Lounsbury and George Lyman Kittredge—are of outstanding significance. Had Miss Spurgeon's record been carried on to 1920 the American contribution would have bulked even larger—both absolutely and relatively—for it would have listed the names of more than a dozen scholars who have made important additions to our knowledge of Chaucer, including some whose work has been epoch-making in Chaucerian research.

JOHN M. MANLY

Contributors

CHARLES A. BEARD contributes frequent articles on political subjects to the magazines. He is the author of American Government and Politics, the Economic Basis of Politics, and other books.

LEO STEIN, connoisseur of painting, is an American who has lived many years in France and Italy.

T. K. WHIPPLE, associate professor of English in the University of California, is the author of many critical articles on contemporary American literature.

JOHN BAKELESS, former managing editor of the Living Age, is the author of The Origin of the Next War, to be published this spring.

EDITH WYATT, novelist and literary critic, is the author of The Invisible Gods, Great Companions, etc.

JOHN M. MANLY is head of the English Department at the University of Chicago, and has written many books on English writing and literature.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MEMOIRS of CASANOVA hitherto obtainable only in editions costing from $150 to $500.

VENUS AND TANNHAUSER Aubrey Beardsley's brilliant, unpublished novel.

MY FIRST 30 YEARS *by* Gertrude Beasley — a story which is still the sensation of Paris.

Are Being Published Complete in

CASANOVA JR'S TALES

A Quarterly Book for Subscribers

EDITED BY FRANCIS PAGE

LIMITED TO 1000 SUBSCRIBERS	EVERY COPY BEAUTIFULLY PRINTED, BOUND and BOXED	FIVE DOLLARS A COPY FIFTEEN DOLLARS A YEAR

CASANOVA JR'S TALES Appears on the First of every April, July, October and January
CASANOVA JR'S TALES Can be Obtained Only by Subscription Payable in Advance

Contents of Number One of
CASANOVA JR'S TALES

1. THIS LOVE BUSINESS *Francis Page*
2. A NUN'S IMMORTALITY *Lord Ramsgate*
3. THE COUPLE THAT LIVED A PLATONIC LIFE THOUGH MARRIED *John Herrmann*
4. MY FIRST THIRTY YEARS (First Instalment) *Gertrude Beasley*
5. A FRANKISH KNIGHT AND A LADY FROM CONSTANTINOPLE, translated by Frances Fletcher from the French of *Jules Lemaitre*
6. VENUS AND TANNHAUSER (a novel) *Aubrey Beardsley*
7. THE MEMOIRS OF CASANOVA (First Instalment) *Jacques Casanova de Seingalt*

CASANOVA JR'S TALES offers in every issue at least one complete, distinguished novel;

To maintain independence in the choosing of its material the publishers are limiting it to one thousand subscribers;

CASANOVA JR'S TALES is sent out to its subscribers by insured Express.

You may order 1 number or 4, enclosing $5 or $15
Every number will be precious to the Collector

TWO WORLDS PUBLISHING COMPANY
Suite 405-8, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Gentlemen: I enclose $..... for which enroll me as a subscriber to ..... numbers of CASANOVA JR'S TALES, beginning with No. .....:

Name.....
No. and St. .....
City.....

3-10-26

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Spring Announcements

A Selected List

Anthropology, Ethnology, Archaeology

The Conquest of Civilization, by James Henry Breasted. Harper. $4.
The Mothers, by Robert Briffault. Macmillan. Three vols.
The Aryans, by V. Gordon Childe. Knopf. $4.50.
The Mystic Rose, by A. E. Crawley. Boni & Liveright. Two vols. $10.
Principles of Human Geography, by P. Vidal de la Blache. Holt. $5.
Finno-Ugric Mythology, by Uno Holmberg. Marshall Jones. $8.
Are the Jews a Race? by Karl Kautsky. International. $2.50.
The Migration of Symbols, by Donald A. MacKenzie. Knopf. $4.
The Northern Tribes of Nigeria, by C. K. Meek. Oxford. Two vols. $12.
Race and History, by E. Pittard. Knopf. $6.50.
Digging for Lost African Gods, by Count Byron Kuhn de Prorok. Putnam. $6.
Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro, by N. N. Puckett. North Carolina University.
The Race Myth, by Théophile Simar. Seltzer. $4.

Art, Architecture, Music

The Art in Painting, by Albert C. Barnes. Harcourt. $6.
Beethoven, by Paul Bekker. Dutton. $4.
Art for Amateurs and Students, by George J. Cox. Doubleday. $5.
Music Education in America, by Archibald T. Davison. Harper. $5.
John Sloan, by Albert Eugene Gallatin. Dutton. $2.50.
Primitive Negro Sculpture, by Paul Guillaume and Thomas Munro. Harcourt. $4.
Blues: An Anthology of Jazz Music. Selected by W. C. Handy. A. & C. Boni. $3.50.
The Drawings of Claude Lorrain, by Arthur M. Hind. Minton, Balch. $10.
Old Masters and Modern Art, Vol. II, by Sir Charles Holmes. Harcourt. $7.50.
Masters of Modern Art: Barye, by Charles Saunier; Berthe Morisot, by Armand Fourreau; Corot, by Marc Lafargue; Van Gogh, by Paul Colin. Dodd, Mead. $1.75 each.
Melodies and Memories, by Dame Nellie Melba. Doran. $5.
Negro Workaday Songs, by Odum and Johnson. North Carolina University.
Masterpieces of Greek Art and Painting, by Ernest Pfuhl. Macmillan.
Romanesque Architecture in Italy, by Corrado Ricci. Brentano. $10.
The American Ballet, by Ted Shawn. Holt. $7.50.

Biography, Autobiography, Reminiscences

The Saga of Billy the Kid, by Walter Noble Burns. Doubleday. $2.50.
Sutter's Gold, by Blaise Cendrars. Harper. $2.50.
The Lives of the Rakes, by E. Beresford Chancelor. Brentano. Six vols. $24.
William Cobbett, by Gilbert K. Chesterton. Dodd, Mead. $2.
Demosthenes, by Georges Clemenceau. Houghton Mifflin. $3.
Later Days, by W. H. Davies. Doran. $2.
Joan of Arc, by Joseph Delteil. Minton, Balch. $3.
Forty Years a Gambler on the Mississippi, by George Devrol. Holt. $2.
Memoirs of Halidé Edib. Century. $4.
The Farington Diary, Vol. V. Doran. $7.50.
A Brazilian Mystic, by R. B. Cunninghame Graham. Dial Press. $4.
Doughty Deeds, by R. B. Cunninghame Graham. Dial Press. $3.75.
Peary, by Fitzhugh Green. Putnam.
Fathers of the Revolution, by Philip Guedalla. Putnam. $5.
Letters of Louise Imogen Guiney. Harper. $5.
Letters of Bret Harte. Houghton Mifflin. $5.
The Memoirs of William Hickey, Vol. IV. Knopf. $5.
Reluctantly Told, by Jane Hillyer. Macmillan. $2.
The Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson, by Francis W. Hirst. Macmillan. $5.
Beethoven's Letters. Selected by A. C. Kalischer. Dutton.
Mary Macarthur, by Iconoclast. Seltzer. $2.
The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson, by James Kerney. Century. $4.
Edgar Allan Poe, by Joseph Wood Krutch. Knopf. $3.
Some American Ladies, by Meade Minnigerode. Putnam. $3.50.
Jefferson, by Albert Jay Nock. Harcourt. $2.50.
The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, 1679-1703. Harcourt. Two vols. $15.
The American Jungle, by Llewelyn Powys. Harcourt. $2.
The Letters of Queen Victoria, Second Series. Longmans, Green. Two vols. $15.
The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh. Macmillan. Two vols. $7.
Miniature Portraits, by Tallemant des Reaux. Brentano. $4.
The Magnificent Idler: A Life of Walt Whitman, by Cameron Rogers. Doubleday. $2.50.
Abraham Lincoln, The Prairie Years, by Carl Sandburg. Harcourt. Two vols. $10.
The Life of Benito Mussolini, by Margherita G. Sarfatti. Stokes. $5.
Conversations with Anatole France, by Nicolas Ségur. Dodd, Mead. $2.50.
Disraeli and Gladstone, by D. C. Somervell. Doran. $3.50.
Madame de Pompadour, by Marcelle Tinayre. Putnam. $3.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Scribner Books

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, 1900-1904

By MARK SULLIVAN

The opening book in a group of four, a complete social history of "Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925." Mark Sullivan's observation has missed nothing of interest and significance. He has been as much interested in "Florodora" as in Wm. J. Bryan. Here are the theatre, sports, recreations, styles, business, songs, politics—everything that colored life in America at the turn of the century. *Profusely illustrated.* (March 12.) $5.00

MARK SULLIVAN

F. Scott Fitzgerald's
ALL THE SAD YOUNG MEN

Owen Davis's stage version of Scott Fitzgerald's "Great Gatsby" is now one of the successes of the New York theatre. The mature artist who wrote that book is evident in these stories, which are as entertaining as they are poignant. $2.00

Arthur Train's
THE BLIND GODDESS

Everybody knew that Arthur Train could write a compelling novel about the law. It is a startling revelation of the methods of criminal justice, but it is first of all a colorful, eventful, and swift-moving story. $2.00

L. H. Myers's
THE CLIO *A Novel*

"'The Clio' is a brilliant, enticing, witty, and profound work. His thought is so fascinating and profound, and has such reso rce behind it, that it is a continuous delight.—*The Nation and Athenæum.* $2.00

On March 19 the bough of Spring will flutter with

Ring Lardner's
THE LOVE NEST And Other Stories

Nine new stories done in Ring Lardner's incomparable manner. $2.00

INDIA [The Modern World] By Sir Valentine Chirol

An authoritative volume. Other books in the "Modern World Series" already published are "Germany," by G. P. Gooch; "Norway," by G. Gathorne Hardy; "Russia," by Valentine O'Hara and N. Makeef; and "Ireland," by Stephen Gywnn. *Each volume,* $3.00

FIX BAYONETS!
By John W. Thomason, Jr.

Captain, U. S. Marine Corps.

This is one of those books that make a publisher say to himself—however much he may have grumbled at various times—"There is no business like the publishing business!" The extraordinary text and pictures are both by the same man. (March 19.) $3.50

THE HISTORIAN AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE
By Allen Johnson, *Professor of American History, Yale University*

A concrete and extremely interesting discussion of the methods of collecting historical evidence, of doubting and sifting it, of criticising and proving it. $2.00

PLAYS, SIXTH SERIES By John Galsworthy

Combining in one volume "Old English," "The Show," "The Forest." $2.50

CRITICAL WOODCUTS By Stuart Sherman

An unusual book of critical essays, by a critic on whom the eyes of literary America are centred. *Illustrated with woodcuts by* BERTRAND ZADIG. $2.50

THE MEADOWS By John C. Van Dyke

"Familiar Studies of the Commonplace" the author styles this charming survey of the simple beauties of the low-lying landscape. $2.00

THE PORTRAIT OF ZÉLIDE By Geoffrey Scott

Dr. Joseph Collins, after surveying the entire field of contemporary biography, calls this "the best fictional biography that has been published in English." $3.75

CONFESSIONS OF A CAPITALIST By Sir E. J. P. Benn

An economic study with an individual flavor. Now being translated into Norwegian, Dutch, German, and French. $5.00

MYSTERY CITIES By Thomas Gann

Exploration of ancient Maya cities in British Honduras. *Illustrated.* $5.00

FRANCE AND THE FRENCH By Sisley Huddleston

An up-to-the-minute study of contemporary France by a close observer. $3.00

LUCKY SAM McCARVER By Sidney Howard

An interesting experiment in dramatic biography, seen in New York last fall. $2.00

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, FIFTH AVENUE AT 48TH STREET, NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prophets True and False, by Oswald Garrison Villard. Seltzer. $2.50.
My Apprenticeship, by Beatrice Webb. Longmans, Green. $5.
Carlyle on Cromwell and Others, by David Alec Wilson. Dutton. $5.

Criticism, Belles Lettres, Literature

The Theory of Poetry, by Lascelles Abercrombie. Harcourt. $2.75.
French Studies and Reviews, by Richard Aldington. Dial Press. $2.50.
Sherwood Anderson's Notebook. Boni & Liveright. $2.50.
Fielding the Novelist, by Frederic T. Blanchard. Yale University. $6.
The Genius of Bernard Shaw, by Patrick Braybrooke. Lippincott. $2.50.
Intellectual Vagabondage, by Floyd Dell. Doran. $1.25.
The Dance Over Fire and Water, by Elie Faure. Harper. $3.
Dostoevsky, by André Gide. Knopf. $2.50.
Victor Hugo, the Man and the Poet, by W. F. Giese. Dial Press. $4.
Havelock Ellis, by Isaac Goldberg. Simon & Schuster. $4.
Classical Studies, by J. W. Mackail. Macmillan. $3.50.
Contemporary Russian Literature, by Prince D. S. Mirsky. Knopf. $4.
Modern American Writers: Eugene O'Neill, by Barret H. Clark; Edwin Arlington Robinson, by Ben Ray Redman. McBride. $1. each.
Poets and Their Art, by Harriet Monroe. Macmillan. $2.
Our Debt to Greece and Rome: Lucian, by Francis G. Allinson; Modern Traits in Old Greek Life, by Charles Burton Gulick. Marshall Jones. $1.50 each.
A Chapter on Autography, by Edgar Allan Poe. Dial Press. $4.
Fools and Philosophers, by J. B. Priestley. Dodd, Mead. $2.
Critical Woodcuts, by Stuart P. Sherman. Scribner. $2.50.
Poetry and Criticism, by Edith Sitwell. Holt. $1.
Shakespeare, by J. C. Squire. Doran. $1.25.
Excavations, by Carl Van Vechten. Knopf. $2.50.
A Century of the English Novel, by Cornelius Weygandt. Century. $2.50.

Drama

The Confessions of an Actor, by John Barrymore. Bobbs-Merrill. $2.50.
The New Spirit in the European Theatre, 1914-1924, by Huntley Carter. Doran. $7.50.
Alexander and Three Small Plays, by Lord Dunsany. Putnam. $1.75.
The Death of Socrates, by Laurence Housman. Small, Maynard. $1.25.
Pantomimes for the Children's Theatre, by M. Jagendorf. Brentano. $3.
The Great God Brown, by Eugene O'Neill. Boni & Liveright. $2.50.
A Million and One Nights, the History of the Motion Picture, by Terry Ramsaye. Simon & Schuster. Two vols. $10.
Theatre Practice, by Stark Young. Scribner. $1.50.

Economics, Labor, Sociology

Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem, by Edith Abbott. Chicago University. $4.50.
The Repression of Crime, by Harry Elmer Barnes. Doran. $2.50.
Social Struggles and Modern Socialism, by M. Beer. Small, Maynard. $2.
The Federal Intermediate Credit System, by Claude L. Benner. Macmillan. $2.50.
Coöperative Railroading, by Otto S. Beyer. Doran. $2.
Fundamental Thoughts in Economics, by Gustav Cassel. Harcourt. $1.50.
The Consumers' Coöperative Movement in Germany, by Theodor Cassau. Macmillan.
Social Control of Business, by J. Maurice Clark. Chicago University. $3.
The Threat of Leisure, by George Barton Cutten. Yale University. $2.
Population Problems. Edited by Louis I. Dublin. Houghton Mifflin. $4.
The Melting-Pot Mistake, by Henry Pratt Fairchild. Little, Brown. $2.50.
Criminology and Penology, by John Lewis Gillin. Century. $4.50.
The Rise of Modern Industry, by J. L. and Barbara Hammond. Harcourt. $2.75.
Free Thought in the Social Sciences, by J. A. Hobson. Macmillan. $4.
The Book of Marriage. Compiled by Count Hermann Keyserling. Harcourt. $5.
Introduction to the American Official Sources for the Social and Economic History of the World War. Compiled by Waldo G. Leland and Newton D. Mereness. Yale University. $5.
What is Civilization? by Maurice Maeterlinck, Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Chi Fung Liu, and others. Duffield. $2.50.
Selected Essays, by Karl Marx. International. $1.75.
Women: An Inquiry, by Willa Muir. Knopf. $1.
The Story of an Epoch-Making Movement, by Maud Nathan. Doubleday. $2.50.
The War Period in American Finance—1912-1925, by Alexander D. Noyes. Putnam.
Dependent America, by William C. Redfield. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.
Karl Marx and Frederick Engles: A Sociological Study, by D. Riasanov. International. $2.50.
The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism, by George Bernard Shaw. Brentano.
Curing the Criminal, by Jesse Orila Stutsman. Macmillan. $2.50.
Industrial Relations in the Coal Industry, by Arthur E. Suffern. Macmillan. $2.50.
Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, by R. H. Tawney. Harcourt. $3.
The Expansion of Rural Life, by James Mickel Williams. Knopf. $3.

Essays

The Home Town Mind, by Duncan Aikman. Minton, Balch. $2.50.
Things That Have Interested Me, Third Series, by Arnold Bennett. Doran. $2.50.
Your United States, by Arnold Bennett. Doran. $2.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some Distinguished Books from Beacon Hill

THE PIONEERS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

By M. ROUSTAN

A brilliant treatise explaining the French Revolution and its inevitability, and showing the influence of such men as Voltaire and Rousseau in persuading their generation that free inquiry was a virtue. $4.00

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION: Studies in Sixteenth-Century Political Thought.

By R. H. MURRAY

A discussion of the political, religious and philosophical controversies of the most eventful century in European history—the century of Machiavelli, Luther, Calvin and Erasmus. A book not only for students, but for all who are interested in religion and political thought. $4.00

WARRIORS IN UNDRESS

By F. J. HUDLESTON

The Librarian of the War Office in London proves that the heroes of the gun and sword were human after all beneath their military trappings. Many a chuckle lurks within the covers of this delectable book. The volume is beautifully printed and contains twelve illustrations in gravure. *(April 10)* $3.50

THE MELTING-POT MISTAKE

By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

A stimulating study, emphasizing nationality rather than race, of the effect immigration has had and will produce on the American Nation—by the Professor of Sociology at New York University. The book will prove immensely stimulating to constructive thought. $2.50

MAJORCA

By HENRY C. SHELLEY

The eventful history of this enchanted island in the Mediterranean, combined with a faithful description of its manifold attractions, makes this a delightful travel book. *(April 10)* $3.50

VERSAILLES: ITS LIFE AND HISTORY

By CECILIA HILL

A comprehensive history of the magnificent palace of Louis XIV is made doubly interesting by vivid pen pictures of its glittering line of habitués. $2.50

THE LURE OF THE SEA: Sea Lore of To-day and Yesterday. *Selected by F. H. LEE*

From the vast literature dealing with the sea, the editor of this volume has made selections from the works of Masefield, Noyes, Kipling, Conrad, Lubbock, Bone and many other great writers.

Outstanding Spring Fiction

THE GREAT VALLEY	*(April 10) by Mary Johnston*	*$2.00*
THE OLDEST GOD	*by Stephen McKenna*	*$2.50*
LODGERS IN LONDON	*by Adelaide Eden Phillpotts*	*$2.00*
THE HIGH ADVENTURE	*by Jeffery Farnol*	*$2.00*
THE GOLDEN BEAST	*by E. Phillips Oppenheim*	*$2.00*

These books are for sale at all Booksellers

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY

Publishers 34 Beacon Street Boston

"Atlantic Monthly Press Publications"

NEW ENGLAND IN THE REPUBLIC: 1776-1850

By James Truslow Adams

The author of "The Founding of New England" (awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the best history of 1921) and "Revolutionary New England: 1691-1776," concludes in this volume the story of New England from the beginning of the Revolution up to 1850. He has portrayed the life of the people in New England, the views of the rich and poor, the struggle of abolitionists against slavery, the effects on all classes of changing conditions of life brought about by industry, politics and foreign relations. *(April 10)* $5.00

28th Thousand Already!

THE HOUNDS OF SPRING

By Sylvia Thompson

The New York World says: "The sheer virtuosity of Miss Thompson's performance casts 'The Constant Nymph' into shadow. . . . It looks very much like the novel of the season." Fifth Printing. $2.00

ASIA: A SHORT HISTORY

By Herbert Henry Gowen

The life story of a great continent and its present and future significance to the Western world, compressed in scholarly fashion into a single volume. *(May 7th)* $3.50

ROSES IN THE LITTLE GARDEN

By G. A. Stevens

A practical guide to the use of roses in the little garden. The author, an expert rose grower, stresses the importance of adapting varieties to localities and covers all phases of care of the plants. *With illustrations. (April 10)* $1.75

MARY CHRISTMAS

By Mary Ellen Chase

A strangely beautiful little tale of a passionate Armenian woman peddler who touches with magic the lives and thoughts of a delightful American family. *(April 10)* $1.50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rambles and Reflections, by A. C. Benson. Putnam.
Essays on Life, by A. Clutton-Brock. Dutton. $2.
Last Essays, by Joseph Conrad. Doubleday. $2.
Richard Kane Looks at Life, by Irwin Edman. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.
Paradise in Piccadilly, by Harry Furniss. Dodd, Mead. $4.
Fallodon Papers, by Viscount Grey. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.
Lay Thoughts of a Dean, by William Ralph Inge. Putnam.
Of Many Things, by Otto H. Kahn. Boni & Liveright. $3.
A Casual Commentary, by Rose Macaulay. Boni & Liveright. $2.
Nemesis, by Michael Monahan. Frank-Maurice. $2.50.
The Romany Stain, by Christopher Morley. Doubleday. $2.50.

Fiction

The Piper's Fee, by Samuel Hopkins Adams. Boni & Liveright. $2.
Miss Tiverton Goes Out. Anonymous. Bobbs Merrill. $2.50.
To All Young Men in Love, by Michael Arlen. Doran. $2.50.
Cat's Cradle, by Maurice Baring. Doubleday. $4.
The Enemy's Gates, by Richmond Brooks Barrett. Boni & Liveright. $2.
Spanish Bayonet, by Stephen Vincent Benét. Doran. $2.
Rex, by E. F. Benson. Doran. $2.
The Whole Story, by Elizabeth Bibesco. Putnam. $2.
The Lady of the Abbey, by George A. Birmingham. Bobbs-Merrill. $2.
Gandle Follows His Nose, by Heywood Broun. Boni & Liveright. $2.
The Baker's Cart, by Gerald Bullett. Doubleday. $2.
Hangman's House, by Donn Byrne. Century. $2.50.
The Silver Stallion, by James Branch Cabell. McBride. $2.50.
The Pride of the Town, by Dorothy Walworth Carman. Harper. $2.
The Incredulity of Father Brown, by Gilbert K. Chesterton. Dodd, Mead. $2.
On an Island that Cost $24, by Irvin Cobb. Doran. $2.
Miranda Masters, by John Cournos. Knopf. $2.50.
The Unknown Goddess, by Ruth Cross. Harper. $2.
They Had to See Paris, by Homer Croy. Harper. $2.
The Chip and the Block, by E. M. Delafield. Harper. $2.
The Connoisseur and Other Stories, by Walter de la Mare. Knopf. $2.50.
Love in Greenwich Village, by Floyd Dell. Doran. $2.
The Wayward Man, by St. John Ervine. Macmillan. $2.
The High Adventure, by Jeffery Farnol. Little, Brown. $2.
Soldiers' Pay, by William Faulkner. Boni & Liveright. $2.50.
All the Sad Young Men, by F. Scott Fitzgerald. Scribner. $2.
O Genteel Lady! by Esther Forbes. Houghton Mifflin. $2.
Landscape with Figures, by Ronald Fraser. Boni & Liveright. $2.50.
Gifts of Sheba, by W. L. George. Putnam. $2.
Unchanging Quest, by Philip Gibbs. Doran. $2.
Cuckoo, by Douglas Goldring. McBride. $2.
Adam's Breed, by Radclyffe Hall. Doubleday. $2.50.
Panini, by Ben Hecht. Boni & Liveright. $2.
Chimes, by Robert Herrick. Macmillan. $2.
Roundabout, by Nancy Hoyt. Knopf. $2.50.
The Golden Dancer, by Cyril Hume. Doran. $2.
Appassionata, by Fannie Hurst. Knopf. $2.
Two or Three Graces, by Aldous Huxley. Doran. $2.50.
Mated, by Wallace Irwin. Putnam. $2.
Three Kingdoms, by Storm Jameson. Knopf. $2.50.
Tom Fool, by F. Tennyson Jesse. Knopf. $2.75.
Relations, by Sir Harry Johnston. Harper. $2.
The Great Valley, by Mary Johnston. Little, Brown. $2.
The Splendid Shilling, by Idwal Jones. Doubleday. $2.
The Diary of a Young Lady of Fashion in the Year 1764-1765, by Cleone Knox. Appleton. $2.50.
Show Business, by Thyra Samter Winslow. Knopf. $2.50.
Hill-Billy, by Rose Wilder Lane. Harper. $2.
The Love Nest and Other Stories, by Ring Lardner. Scribner. $2.
The Plumed Serpent, by D. H. Lawrence. Knopf. $3.
Mantrap, by Sinclair Lewis. Harcourt. $2.
The Mulberry Bush, by Sylvia Lind. Minton, Balch. $2.50.
Some Found Adventure, by Robert E. McClure. Doubleday. $2.
The Oldest God, by Stephen McKenna. Little, Brown. $2.50.
Odtaa, or Change for Threepence, by John Masefield. Macmillan. $2.50.
Fernande, by W. B. Maxwell. Dodd, Mead. $2.
Mary Glenn, by Sarah Gertrude Millin. Boni & Liveright. $2.
Cloud Cuckoo Land, by Naomi Mitchison. Harcourt. $2.50.
Rough Justice, by C. E. Montague. Doubleday. $2.50.
Ulick and Soracha, by George Moore. Boni & Liveright. $10.
The Crime at Vanderlynden's, by R. H. Mottram. Dial Press. $2.50.
Pig Iron, by Charles G. Norris. Dutton. $2.
Spring Sowing, by Liam O'Flaherty. Knopf. $2.50.
Clara Barron, by Harvey O'Higgins. Houghton Mifflin. $2.
Banzai, by John Paris. Boni & Liveright. $2.50.
Cynthia Codentry, by Ernest Pascal. Brentano. $2.
The Fourth Queen, by Isabel Paterson. Boni & Liveright. $2.
Lodgers in London, by Adelaide Eden Phillpotts. Little, Brown. $2.
George Westover, by Eden Phillpotts. Macmillan. $2.
Up Hill, Down Dale, by Eden Phillpotts. Macmillan. $2.25.
Circe's Island and The Girl and the Faun, by Eden Phillpotts. Macmillan. $2.25.
The Enemy, by Channing Pollock. Brentano. $2.
Innocent Birds, by T. F. Powys. Knopf. $2.50.
The Son of the House, by Anthony Pryde. Dodd, Mead. $2.
The House-Maid, by Naomi G. Royde-Smith. Knopf. $2.50.
The Last Day, by Beatrice Kean Seymour. Seltzer. $2.
Keller's Anna Ruth, by Elsie Singmaster. Houghton Mifflin. $2.
Justice Walk, by Constance Smedley. Dial Press. $2.
The Making of Americans, by Gertrude Stein. A. & C. Boni. $12.50.
Brawnyman, by James Stevens. Knopf. $2.50.
Mr. and Mrs. Haddock in Paris, France, by Donald Ogden Stewart. Harper. $2.
The Hounds of Spring, by Sylvia Thompson. Little, Brown. $2.
The Blind Goddess, by Arthur Train. Scribner. $2.
Transatlantic Stories. Dial Press. $2.50.
Lolly Willowes, by Sylvia Townsend Warner. Viking. $2.
Black Valley, by Raymond Weaver. Viking. $2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WHOLE LITERARY WORLD IS ASKING:

WHO IS DAVID ZORN?

The author of that remarkable novel WHITE STREAMS in the second number of TWO WORLDS? For, write scholars, editors, librarians, far from being the work of a novice, this narrative of his—more truthful than Wedekind's *AWAKENING OF SPRING*, more complete than Selincourt's *ONE LITTLE BOY*—seems to place him at the forefront of the writers of our time. We are not yet prepared to reveal who David Zorn is, or even whether it is a pseudonym or not, but we can announce that two more novels in this tremendous cycle—OPEN PLUMBING and THE COASTS OF CYTHEREA will appear in the March and June numbers of TWO WORLDS respectively.

TWO WORLDS

A Literary Quarterly devoted to the Increase of the Gaiety of Nations

EDITED BY SAMUEL ROTH

Contributing Editors

Arthur Symons, *London* — Paul Morand, *Paris*

LIMITED TO 450 SUBSCRIBERS	Every copy is beautifully printed, bound and boxed.	THREE DOLLARS A COPY TEN DOLLARS A YEAR

AMONG THE FEATURES OF THE FIRST FOUR NUMBERS WHICH SHOULD LEAD YOU TO SUBSCRIBE TO TWO WORLDS

(ALL THE FOUR NUMBERS ARE STILL AVAILABLE)

A NEW UNAMED WORK BY JAMES JOYCE

Following and promising to excel his famous ULYSSES

The UNPUBLISHED PORTION *of* DE PROFUNDIS *by* OSCAR WILDE

Which is being held by the British Museum for Publication in 1960

"1601" the famous unpublished work of MARK TWAIN

THE MILK OF HEAVENLY KINDNESS BY SAMUEL ROTH

The novel wherein Mlle. d'Oliviers dying virgin at 85 perplexes Heaven

A PEEP INTO THE PAST BY MAX BEERBOHM

Written for the Yellow Book but suppressed before the Oscar Wilde Trial

¶ TWO WORLDS offers with every issue, complete, a novel, a play, a short story, and verse, when good sound verse is to be obtained;

¶ TWO WORLDS appears promptly on the 15th of every September, December, March and June;

¶ The first 25 copies of every number are printed on special paper and signed by the leading contributor to each issue. Only a few of these remain unasked for. They are $10 a copy, $35 for the year.

¶ TWO WORLDS can only be had by subscription which is $3 for one issue, $10 for a year of four issues.

You may order 1 number or 4, enclosing $3 or $10
Every number will be precious to the collector

TWO WORLDS PUBLISHING COMPANY
Suite 405-8, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Gentlemen: I enclose $.....for which enroll me as a subscriber to.....numbers of TWO WORLDS, beginning with No. .....

Name.....

No. and St. .....

City.....

3-10-26

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRENTANO'S BRENTANO'S

ERNEST PASCAL

Author of
"THE DARK SWAN"
"THE VIRGIN FLAME"

Writes another unusual and brilliant novel of American life

Cynthia Codentry

An uncompromising and intimate study of the modern American girl

"This is an uncannily wise book for any man to have written about any woman."

The Eighteenth Century Journal of an unmarried English lady addressed to her natural son.

A Book Without a Name

The writer of this diary has the intellectual passion for freedom of Shelley, the spiritual affiliation with nature of Hudson, and the command of a poetic prose that might well have been their joint gift to this kindred soul. 2.50

Miniature Portraits

By Tallemant des Reaux

These historiettes from the French "for literary importance can only be compared with the diary of Samuel Pepys, and Tallemant des Reaux takes his place with Brantome as a master of living portraiture." (Sir Edmund Gosse) $4.00

The Pomps of Satan

By Edgar Saltus

Satan's pomps are varied. The author exposes his whims, his ideas, images the past, forecasts the future, and deplores the present. A book replete with grace and graciousness full of a delicate charm. $2.00

Inside the Moscow Art Theatre.

By Oliver M. Sayler

Mr. Sayler, the author of the well-known "Russian Theatre" and "Our American Theatre," gives us here first-hand information about the famous Moscow Art Theatre at home in Russia. $4.00

The Plays—Seven plays of the Lyric Branch in English, "Carmencita," "Lysistrata" et cetera. $3.00
Translated from the Russian by Geo. S. and Gilbert Seldes.

WRITE FOR OUR NEW SPRING CATALOGUE

Publishers **BRENTANO'S** New York

BRENTANO'S BRENTANO'S

The Grandmothers, by Glenway Westcott. Dial Press. $2.50.
Flight, by Walter White. Knopf. $2.50.
The Half-Breed and Other Stories, by Walt Whitman. Columbia University.
Gypsy Down the Lane, by Thames Williamson. Small, Maynard. $2.50.
The Village in the Jungle, by Leonard Woolf. Harcourt. $2.50.
Black Harvest, by I. A. R. Wylie. Doran. $2.50.
The Dark Tower, by Francis Brett Young. Knopf. $2.50.

Translated Fiction

The Ninth Thermidor, by M. A. Aldanov. Knopf. $2.50.
The Thibaults, by Roger Martin Du Gard. Boni & Liveright. Two vols. $5.
Comes the Blind Fury, by Raymond Escholier. Dodd, Mead. $2.
The Dancing Girl of Shamakha and Other Asiatic Tales, by Count de Gobineau. Harcourt. $2.50.
Rosa, by Knut Hamsun. Knopf. $2.50.
Aricie Brun, by Emile Henriot. Viking. $2.
Kyra Kyralina, by Panaït Istrati. Knopf. $2.
Royal Highness, by Thomas Mann. Knopf. $2.50.
The Breeze in the Moonlight: "The Second Book of Genius." Putnam.
The Sacred Tree, Being a Continuation of The Tale of Genji, by Lady Murasaki. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.
The Game of Love and Death, by Romain Rolland. Holt. $1.75.
Cat and Cradle, by Palle Rosenkrantz. Doubleday. $2.
Beatrice, by Arthur Schnitzler. Simon & Schuster. $1.50.
Love and Life, by Helene Stöcker. Seltzer. $2.
The Devil, by Leo Tolstoi. Harper. $2.50.
Oberlin's Three Stages, by Jacob Wassermann. Harcourt. $2.50.
Four Tales by "Zélide." Scribner. $3.75.

Government, Politics, Current Affairs

American Relations with China—Conference Report. Johns Hopkins. $1.50.
The Origin of the Next War, by John Bakeless. Viking. $2.50.
Italy Under Mussolini, by William Bolitho. Macmillan. $2.50.
Pan-Europe, by Count Coudenhove-Kalergi. Knopf. $2.50.
International Anarchy, by G. Lowes Dickinson. Century. $3.50.
From Dawes to Locarno, by George Glasgow. Harper. $2.50.
Europe and the East, by Norman Dwight Harris. Houghton Mifflin. $5.
Essays on Nationalism, by Carlton J. H. Hayes. Macmillan. $3.50.
Broken Earth, the Russian Village Today, by Maurice Hindus. International. $2.
Proportional Representation, by C. G. Hoag and G. H. Hallett. Macmillan. $3.
The Usages of the American Constitution, by H. W. Horwill. Oxford. $3.50.
The United States Oil Policy, by John Ise. Yale University. $10.
Four American Party Leaders, by Charles E. Merriam. Macmillan. $1.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Advancing South, by Edwin Mims. Doubleday. $2.50.
The Idea of Social Justice, by Charles W. Pipkin. Macmillan. $4.
International Relations as Viewed from Geneva, by William E. Rappard. Yale University. $2.50.
The Mind of the President, by Bascom Slemp. Doubleday. $3.
Soviet Russia Today. Viking. $5.
The Decline of the West, by Oswald Spengler. Knopf. $7.50.
The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States, 1898-1925, by Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco. Putnam. $2.
India's Case, by Jabez T. Sunderland. Viking. $1.50.
Law Reform, by Henry W. Taft. Macmillan. $3.
Whither Russia, by Leon Trotsky. International. $1.50.
China at the Conference, by W. W. Willoughby. Johns Hopkins. $3.

History

New England in the Republic: 1776-1850, by James Truslow Adams. Little, Brown. $5.
Europe from Waterloo to Sarajevo, by Percy Ashley. Knopf. $3.
History of France, by Jacques Bainville. Appleton. $3.50.
Genesis of the World War, by Harry Elmer Barnes. Knopf. $2.50.
History and Social Intelligence, by Harry Elmer Barnes. Knopf. $4.
Cambridge Ancient History, Vols. III and IV. Macmillan. $9 each.
The Limitations of Victory, by Alfred Fabre-Luce. Knopf. $4.
They Knew the Washingtons—Letters from a French Soldier with LaFayette. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.
History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, Vol. II, by Elie Halévy. Harcourt. $7.50.
The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. Houghton Mifflin. Two vols. $10.
The Writing of History, by Jean Jules Jusserand, Wilbur Cortez Abbott, John Spencer Bassett, Charles William Colby. Scribner. $1.25.
From Double Eagle to Red Flag, by General P. N. Krasnoff. Duffield. Two vols. $6.50.
War Weather Vignettes, by Alexander McAdie. Macmillan. $1.50.
The Political Consequences of the Reformation, by R. H. Murray. Little, Brown. $4.
Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements, by Louis I. Newman. Columbia University. $7.50.
A History of Ireland, by Sir James O'Connor. Doran. Two vols. $12.
History of Russia, by Bernard Pares. Knopf. $5.
The United States and Mexico, 1821-1924, by J. Fred Rippy. Knopf. $5.
The Ordeal of Civilization, by James Harvey Robinson. Harper. $4.
Primitive Culture in Greece, by H. J. Rose. Doran. $2.50.
The Pioneers of the French Revolution, by M. Roustan. Little, Brown. $4.
Isvolsky and the World War, by Friedrich Stieve. Knopf. $3.50.
Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925. Vol. I, by Mark Sullivan. Scribner. $5.
Fix Bayonets! by John W. Thomason. Scribner. $3.50.

1468 1926

OXFORD BOOKS

THE OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH PROSE
Chosen and Edited by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch
"It is filled with good things, old friends and new, and everywhere gives evidence of the fine discrimination that the editor showed in his Book of English Verse. It has a real place; it is a book to have at one's bedside or for rainy days, not a collection of specimens for tracing the development of prose or for studying individual writers, but for delight, for the sheer joy of reading alluring or interesting bits of prose, many of which are all too little known."—*Professor H. D. Havens (Caroline Donovan Professor of English Literature)*. Price, net, cloth, $3.75; India paper, cloth, $4.25.

KEATS AND SHAKESPEARE
A study of Keats' Poetic Life from 1816 to 1820
By J. Middleton Murry
"Seldom enough does a critical study come into our hands so full of eagerness and life that we are anxious to delay not a moment before imparting the news of it to the world of readers. Mr. Murry's new book, however, is undeniably such a study."—*New York Times*. Price, net, $4.75.

THE USAGES OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION
By H. W. Horwill
"Herbert W. Horwill has opened a broad road through a constitutional region which no previous writer has so systematically explored. . . . It fills an important place."—*New York Times*. Price, net, $3.50

THE LIFE OF HENRY HOWARD MOLYNEUX HERBERT
Fourth Earl of Carnarvon, 1831-1890
By the Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Hardinge
Edited by Elizabeth, Countess of Carnarvon
The Fourth Earl of Carnarvon took a large share in the shaping of the Colonial Empire. This book gives a contemporary account of the growth of the British Commonwealth. In three volumes. Price, net, $21.00.

SPIRITUAL VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION
By Basil A. Yeaxlee
These volumes comprise the most detailed study of Adult Education which has yet been made. Two volumes. Price, net, $8.75.

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1066-1874
By Charlotte M. Waters
"The plan in this book is to take pictures of our nation at intervals of about 200 years, noting the changes and trying to see what has brought them about." Price, net, $3.25.

THE SELBORNE MEMORANDUM
With an Introduction by Basil Williams
The Selborne Memorandum is one of the most important documents in the history of South African Union; the introduction presents it in its right place and gives it its proper importance as one of the factors which helped the final achievement. Price, net, $2.50.

SOME SAYINGS OF THE BUDDHA
According to the Pali Canon. Translated by F. L. Woodward
This collection contains passages from the Buddhist Canon illustrating the life, doctrine, and achievement of the Buddha. Price, net, cloth, $1.75; leather, $2.50

THE GLORY OF GOD
Three Lectures. *By I. Abrahams*
"Mr. I. Abrahams treats 'The Glory of God' in three aspects, natural, Messianic and pragmatic. . . . These studies are of interest not only to the Jews, but to all students of the Old Testament."—*Boston Transcript*. Price, net, $1.25.

AT ALL BOOKSELLERS
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMERICAN BRANCH
NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HENRY HOLT
AND COMPANY

Announce

Louise Closser Hale's

HOME TALENT

An important new novel of American stage life by a distinguished actress. A picture, wise and witty, subtle and ironic, of the American theatre as it is. $2.00

STORM DUST

By Constance Smith (Isabel Beaumont)

The strange, dramatic story of a sensitive, passionate, but self-willed woman. A novel invested with dignity and power. $2.00

Oscar Wilde From Purgatory

Edited by Hester Travers Smith

A remarkable volume of psychic messages purporting to have come from Wilde. $2.00

The Equipment of the Social Worker

By Elizabeth Macadam

Describes clearly the methods of preparing men and women for social administration in all its forms, public and private. $2.50

A Northern Countryside

By Rosalind Richards

A re-issue of a charming book, for those for whom the miracle of living reality is always a fresh and thrilling adventure. $1.75

New Volumes in the Home University Library

Microscopy

By Robert M. Neill

An account of the nature and scope of microscopical investigation. $1.00

The Byzantine Empire

By Norman H. Baynes

A survey of certain aspects of the East Roman civilization. $1.00

To Be Published Shortly

Romain Rolland's

THE GAME OF LOVE AND DEATH

A play based upon the French Revolution. $1.75

Edith Sitwell's

POETRY AND CRITICISM

The author's philosophy of modernism. $1.50

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

One Park Avenue New York

The Other Side of the Medal, by Edward Thompson. Harcourt. $1.50.
The New Outline of History, by H. G. Wells. Macmillan. 24 parts. $0:50 each.
Principles of Democracy: Section II of the Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Harper. Two vols. $8.

Philosophy, Religion

My Faith in Immortality, by William E. Barton. Bobbs-Merrill. $2.50.
My Religion, by Arnold Bennett, Hugh Walpole, Rebecca West, and others. Appleton. $1.50.
Cosmic Evolution, by John Elof Boodin. Macmillan. $3.50.
Imagination and Religion, by S. Parkes Cadman. Macmillan. $1.50.
The Pope, by Jean Carrère. Holt. $4.
A Modernist and His Creed, by Edward M. Chapman. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.
History of Mediæval Philosophy, by Maurice De Wulf. Longmans, Green. Two vols. $5.
The Story of Philosophy, by Will C. Durant. Simon & Schuster. $5.
The Life of St. Paul, by F. S. Foakes-Jackson. Boni & Liveright. $4.
Do Fundamentalists Play Fair? by William Mentzel Forrest. Macmillan. $1.
The Worship of Nature, by James George Frazer. Macmillan.
Finding the Trail of Life, by Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan. $1.50.
Comparative Philosophy, by P. Masson-Oursel. Harcourt. $3.
Creative Freedom, by J. W. T. Mason. Harper. $4.
The Survival Value of Christianity, by John Moffatt Mecklin. Harcourt. $2.75.
Life, Mind, and Spirit, by C. Lloyd Morgan. Holt. $3.75.
Contemporary British Philosophy, Second Series. Edited by J. H. Muirhead. Macmillan. $4.50.
An Outline of Christianity: The Story of our Civilization, by more than one hundred authorities. Dodd, Mead. Five vols. $25.
The Three Conventions, by Denis Saurat. Dial Press. $2.
The First Age of Christianity, by Ernest F. Scott. Macmillan. $1.50.
Christianity and Naturalism, by Robert Shafer. Yale University. $4.
Evolution and Optimism, by Ludwig Stein. Seltzer. $3.
Scientific Humanism, by Lothrop Stoddard. Scribner. $2.50.
Progressive Christianity, by William A. Vrooman. Macmillan. $2.50.
Religious Experience and Scientific Method, by Henry Nelson Wieman. Macmillan. $2.50.

Poetry

Cyclops' Eye, by Joseph Auslander. Harper. $2.
English Poems, by Edmund Blunden. Knopf. $2.50.
Grenstone Poems, by Witter Bynner. Knopf. $2.50.
Far Horizons, by Bliss Carman. Small, Maynard. $1.25.
Poems of E. E. Cummings. Boni & Liveright. $2.50.
Poems of Theodore Dreiser. Boni & Liveright. $5.
Human Shows, Far Phantasies, Songs and Trifles, by Thomas Hardy. Macmillan. $2.25.
Laughing Ann and Other Poems by A. P. Herbert. Doubleday. $2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Weary Blues, by Langston Hughes. Knopf. $2.
Scarlet and Mellow, by Alfred Kreymborg. Boni & Liveright. $2.
Going to the Stars, by Vachel Lindsay. Appleton. $2.
Collected and Selected Poems, by Ezra Pound. Boni & Liveright. $3.50.
Fire-Head, by Lola Ridge. Viking. $1.50.
Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Poems. Edited by C. Elissa Sharpley. Dutton. $1.50.
Collected Poems, by James Stephens. Macmillan. $3.50.
Words for the Chisel, by Genevieve Taggard. Knopf. $2.
Dawn Boy: Blackfoot and Navajo Songs, by Eda Lou Walton. Dutton. $2.50.

Psychology, Education

An Introduction to Social Psychology, by L. L. Bernard. Holt. $4.
Pleasure and Pain, by Paul Bousfield. Dutton.
The Foundations of Education, by J. J. Findlay. Holt. $2.50.
Educational Psychology: Its Problems and Methods, by Charles Fox Harcourt. $3.75.
The Gang Age, by Paul Hanley Furfey. Macmillan. $2.
Personality, by R. G. Gordon. Harcourt. $4.
Man and His Fellows, by Ernest M. Hopkins. Princeton University.
Principles of Psychology, Vol. II, by J. Robert Kantor. Knopf. $6.
Outline of Abnormal Psychology, by William McDougall. Scribner. $3.50.
Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School, by Henry C. Morrison. Chicago University. $4.
Education in Soviet Russia, by Scott Nearing. International. $1.50.
The Gist of Psychology, by C. K. Ogden. Harper. $3.
What Have You Got to Give? by Angelo Patri. Doubleday. $2.
Biological Memory, by Eugenio Rignano. Harcourt. $3.75.
The Humanizing of Knowledge, by James Harvey Robinson. Doran. $1.
Education and the Good Life, by Bertrand Russell. Boni & Liveright. $2.50.
Emotion and Insanity, by S. Thalbitzer. Harcourt. $2.75.
The College President, by Charles F. Thwing. Macmillan. $2.
The Art of Thought, by Graham Wallas. Harcourt. $2.50.
Other People's Daughters, by Eleanor Rowland Wembridge. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.

Science

The Arcturus Adventure, by William Beebe. Putnam. $6.
Microbe Hunters, by Paul de Kruif. Harcourt. $3.50.
Essays in Popular Science, by Julian Huxley. Knopf. $2.50.
The Gist of Evolution, by Horatio Hackett Newman. Macmillan. $1.50.
Lives, by Ernest Thompson Seton. Doubleday. Four vols. $25. each.
Three Men Discuss Relativity, by J. W. N. Sullivan. Knopf. $2.50.
The New Natural History, Vol. I, by J. Arthur Thomson. Putnam.
The Gospel of Evolution, by J. Arthur Thomson. Putnam.

Progressive Education

A quarterly review of the newer tendencies in education

April: Creative Expression Through Art

DO YOU KNOW WHAT CHILDREN ARE DOING IN THIS FIELD?

The April number will be a pictorial record, both in color and black and white, of the art results obtained in schools following the freer methods.

There will be significant articles by well known teachers and child study experts, which will be of value to fathers, mothers, teachers and friends of children.

Subscription for the year—including membership in the Association—$2.00

Published by

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

10 Jackson Place **Washington, D. C.**

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE ASSOCIATION

will be held in

Boston, April 29-30—May 1

Subject: CREATIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR CHILDREN THE BASIS OF TRUE EDUCATION

All interested in children are invited to attend the conference

NEW SPRING BOOKS

JACOB'S WELL
by Pierre Benoit
A vivid story of a courtesan from the Levantine seaport slums—a Jewess—and her romance with a Zionist idealist. $2.00

ARE THE JEWS A RACE?
by Karl Kautsky
What is the truth of the Jewish claim of race? What are the causes of anti-Semitism? What is the future of Zionism? $2.50

BROKEN EARTH by Maurice Hindus
Introduction by Glenn Frank
Glenn Frank says, "It is refreshing to come upon a book like this that deals, not with the policies of the Russian capital but with the people of the Russian countryside." $2.00

LEFT WING UNIONISM
by David J. Saposs
A study of radical policies and tactics in American trade unions. $1.60

EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA
by Scott Nearing
A first-hand account of the achievements and plans of Russia's new educational program. $1.50

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD
by John Reed
Int. by Lenin
The one authentic account of the ten days of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. $1.50

SOCIAL FORCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY
by A. M. Simons
The standard economic interpretation of the origin and growth of the American nation. $1.60

HAVE YOU READ?

CHAINS by Henri Barbusse
2 vols. $4.00
Historical Materialism. A System of Sociology, by Nikolai Bukharin. $3.25

WHITHER ENGLAND? by Leon Trotsky $1.75
Foundations of Aesthetics, by C. K. Ogden, James Wood and I. A. Richards. $2.50

Write for Complete Catalog

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
381 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Travel

Our Polar Flight, by Roald Amundsen and Lincoln Ellsworth. Dodd, Mead. $5.

Camera Obscura, by William Bolitho. Harper. $2.

Whalers and Whaling, by E. Keble Chatterton. Lippincott. $4.50.

The Road Around Ireland, by Padraic Colum. Macmillan. $3.

Nippon, by Louis Couperus. Doran. $6.

My Journey to Lhassa, by Mme. Alexandra David-Neel. Harper. $4.

The Tour of the Prince of Wales to Africa and South America, by Ralph Deakin. Lippincott. $4.

On the Mandarin Road, by Roland Dorgelès. Century. $3.

Virgin Spain, by Waldo Frank. Boni & Liveright. $3.

The Ipané, by R. B. Cunninghame Graham. A & C. Boni. $1.75.

Sailing Ships at a Glance, by Edward W. Hobb. Putnam.

Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian. Boni & Liveright. $3.50.

Nomad's Land, by Mary Roberts Rinehart. Doran. $2.50.

In Unknown New Guinea, by W. J. V. Saville. Lippincott. $6.

An American among the Riffi, by Vincent Sheean. Century. $3.50.

The Heart of Black Papua, by Merlin Moore Taylor. McBride. $3.

The Romance of Navigation, by Captain W. B. Whall. McBride. $5.

BOOKS & AUTOGRAPHS

Catalogues post free. Early printed books. Old English authors. Classics. Arts. First Editions, etc. **R. ATKINSON, 188 Peckham Rye, E. Dulwich, S. E. London, England.**

The LIVERIGHT BOOKSHOP
4 West 49th Street, New York

SPRING BOOKS, 8,000 OF THEM!
To choose from among them, as a poet said is "like picking four-leaf clover in the spring grass."
Every season we have helped you make your selection. Just tell us what you like. And if you have already made your choice—we have the books ready for you. We have made quite a reputation for our quick and careful mail delivery service.

WE DELIVER ANYWHERE
Any Book Reviewed
advertised or mentioned in this issue or any other book in print at bookstore prices. We pay postage everywhere on all orders. Promptest service assured. For your convenience will send orders C. O. D. Our monthly magazine catalogue "BOOKS OF THE MONTH" sent free of charge on request.
We also search for OUT-OF-PRINT books without any obligation or cost. Inquiries solicited.
AMERICAN LIBRARY SERVICE
500 Fifth Avenue, Dept. R., New York

THE MODERN AMERICAN NOVEL
A Course of Six Lectures
By Carl Van Doren, A. B., Ph. D.
in the
COMMUNITY CHURCH AUDITORIUM
Park Avenue and 34th Street
On Thursday evenings, March 18, 25
April 1, 8, 15, 22 at 8:15 P. M.
Course tickets $3.50 can be secured in advance at the Office of the Community Church, 12 Park Avenue. Single Admission 75 cents.

DORAN BOOKS

Spanish Bayonet
by Stephen Vincent Benét

¶ "A fascinating glimpse of that nightmare of mad ambition, cruelty, intrigue and desperate adventure which is Florida colonial life just before the Revolution. ¶ A tale full of primitve and barbaric color."
—Floyd Dell

Unchanging Quest
by Philip Gibbs

¶ "A novel concerning nations, the nations reflected through individuals. There is action in the bookswift, suggestive action; there is suspense, there is meaningful conflict, physical and emotional. ¶ But all is done with restraint, so that one must feel, over and over again: ***This is so, this is true.***"
—New York Evening Post

$2.00 at all booksellers

George H. Doran Company Publishers
244 Madison Avenue New York

DORAN BOOKS

The Letters of Queen Victoria
A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journals, 1862-1878.
Published by authority of His Majesty the King. Edited by GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE.
These new volumes cover one of the most interesting and important periods in English history, including the Schleswig-Holstein War, the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian Wars, the American Civil War, the Russo-Turkish War, etc. *Illustrated.* 2 *vols.* $15.00

My Apprenticeship By Beatrice Webb
As a record of a modern woman fighting for spiritual integrity and professional distinction there is nothing that approaches "My Apprenticeship" in fullness of detail, emotional intensity and literary quality. *Illustrated* $6.00

Seventy Summers By Poultney Bigelow
"Poultney Bigelow wields a slashing pen and has the gift of making even the slightest thing interesting . . . It is astounding to see the penetration of his thought . . . Above all he is a rattling story teller and the two whirling and racing volumes make a breath-taking story. You will get your money's worth and more."
The New York Times. 2 *vols.* $10.00

Elizabethan Lyrics By Norman Ault
"The most thoroughly representative survey of the lyric between the years 1533 to 1620 that has come to our attention . . . it brings within the compass of 536 pages the spirit and the beauty of a gloriously singing century. An unusually pleasing compilation."
—New York Post. $3.50

The Economic Problem By Ralph George Hawtrey
The problem of directing the joint action of human beings, discussed by a moderate-minded reformer. $3.75

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
55 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED